OUTLINE

OF

PERSIAN HISTORY

BASED ON

THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

AUGUSTUS WILLIAM AHL

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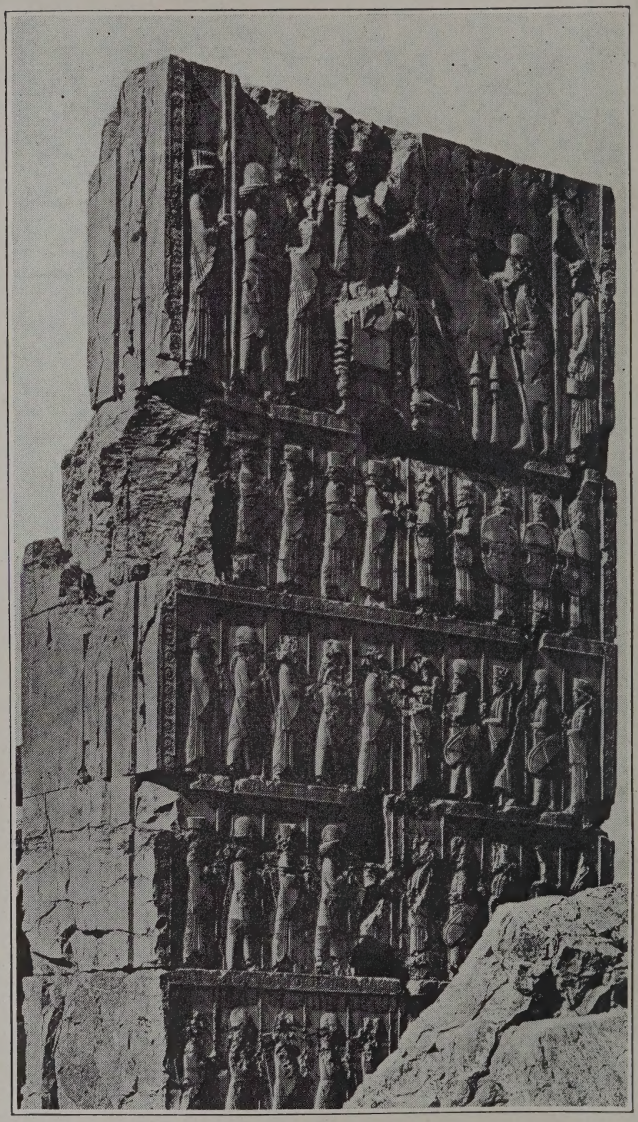

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Studies in Philology and History
Edited by H. C. Tolman and W. L. Fleming, Vanderbilt University

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OUTLINE

OF

PERSIAN HISTORY

BASED ON

THE CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS

BY

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Copyright, 1922
by
Augustus William Ahl

TO

Herbert Cushing Tolman, Ph.D., D.D., LL.D.

This Book Is Gratefully Inscribed as the Fruit of Studies Inspired by His Admirable Instruction and as a Tribute of Respect for His Eminent Services in the Cause of Indo-Iranian Philology

PREFATORY NOTE

THE object of this work is to present something of the history of an erstwhile great state from the record which that state itself has left, to make some contribution to our acquaintance with the ancient Persians from an examination of sources truly Persian. Only such material as is lacking in the inscriptions, but deemed necessary for the completion of the historical picture has been drawn from other sources. Extensive etymological discussion has been left to its specific sphere; only such reference as seems most necessary has been made to that phase of the subject. A countless number of details which might have place in the story have been omitted as not being essential, and the aim has been to present the facts in a succinct, yet comprehensive manner. Mere traditions with but little historic value have been eliminated, and an effort has been made to present only authentic matter. In the main the texts of the inscriptions edited by Professor H. C. Tolman have been employed, texts unexcelled for scholarly accuracy. Many other excellent authorities frequently consulted are mentioned in the section on sources. Grateful acknowledgment is made to Professor H. C. Tolman and Professor E. L. Johnson, of Vanderbilt University, for their constant interest in the preparation of the work.

AUGUSTUS WILLIAM AHL.

MARCH, 1922.

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ABBREVIATIONS

Anc. Pers. Lex., Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts (Tolman).

AJP., American Journal of Philology.

Ann. Nab., Annals of Nabunaid.

Art., Artaxerxes (Inscription).

Av., Avesta.

Bab., Babylonian.

Beh., Behistan.

Cyl. Nab., Cylinder of Nabunaid.

Cyr., Cyrus (Cylinder).

Chron., Chronicles.

Dan., Daniel.

Dar., Darius (Inscription).

Diod., Diodorus (Siculus).

Elam., Elamite.

Elv., Elvend.

Frag. Gilm., Fragments Ctesias (Gilmore).

Gesch. der Med. und Pers., Geschichte der Meder und Perser (Prašek).

Gesch. Aeg., Geschichte Aegyptens (Brugsch).

Goett. Gel. Anz., Goettinger Gelehrten Anzeiger.

Hist. Gram., Historical Grammar (Johnson).

Hdt., Herodotus.

Herod. Emp. E., Herodotus and the Empires of the East (Tolman and Stevenson).

Isa., Isaiah.

Just., Justinus.

JA., Journal Asiatique.

JAOS., Journal of the American Oriental Society.

JRAS., Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society.

JRGS., Journal of the Royal Geographic Society.

Keilinschr., Keilinschriften der Achæmeniden (Weissbach).

NR., Nakš-i-Rustam.

PAPA., Proceedings of the American Philological Association.

Pers., Persian, Persepolis (Inscription).
SBE., Sacred Books of the East.
Skt., Sanskrit.
Sz., Suez.
Sus., Susa.
Xen. Hell., Xenophon Hellenica.
Xen. Anab., Xenophon Anabasis.
Xen. Œc., Xenophon Œconomicus.
Xer., Xerxes (Inscription).
Thuc., Thucydides.
YAv., Younger Avesta.
ZDMG., Zeitschrift der Morgenlaendischen Gesellschaft.
Ztschr., Zeitschrift.

I

Brief Survey of Sources

In all the realm of recent research no field has proved more fruitful than that of archæological labors in the Orient. These labors have revealed to the student of Ancient History sources of unquestionable authority and immense value. Much of the proverbial mystery of the "Occult East" has been unveiled, discoveries have been made which shed light over a past long darkened by legend and error. Without these contributions the records of Ancient History would have remained inaccurate and incomplete. Among the authentic memorials which have been transmitted to the present from other ages, from various countries and in diverse forms, the inscriptions of the Achæmenidan kings, mute, yet clear and eloquent witnesses of ancient times, occupy a place of special interest and peculiar significance. It is the object of the present discussion to present the historical contents of these records, and to interpret them in the light of recent research.

The most complete of these documents is the inscription on Behistan, a rocky mountain rising about fifteen hundred feet above the Persian plain. In three languages—Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian—posterity is told of the deeds of Darius the great king. Similarly the tomb of Darius at Nakš-i-Rustam testifies to the achievements of the Persian monarch. Inscriptions found at Persepolis report historical facts regarding Darius, his son Xerxes, and Artaxerxes III. At Susa, where the Persian rulers

had a winter palace, inscriptions have been left by Darius, Xerxes, and Artaxerxes II. Even distant Egypt is summoned to make contribution to this treasure of information. Here are found the inscriptions of Darius at Suez. Besides these, inscriptions have been left by Darius at Kerman and Elvend; by Xerxes at Elvend and Van; and by Artaxerxes II at Hamadan. An inscription on the ruins of the palace at Murghab reads: "I am Cyrus the king, the Achæmenidan." It is not quite clear, whether this was Cyrus the Great, or a later prince; for the name of the father is not given. Weissbach, has pointed out that the elder Cyrus had hitherto left only Babylonian inscriptions, and it would seem improbable that he should have adopted a new language for a single two line inscription. According to this authority it must be assigned to Cyrus the Younger.[1] Furthermore Darius apparently means to say that he was the first to write an inscription in the Aryan language.[2] Against this view, although the customary title 'xšāyathiya vazarka—xšāyathiya dahyūnām,' great king—king of the countries, is missing, Stolze,[3] Noeldeke,[4] Maspero,[5] along with others, are of the opinion that the monument of Murghab is the tomb of Cyrus the Great. Tolman, in agreement with this view, remarks: "I

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[1]Weissbach, ZDMG., XLVIII, 653. Cf. also sect. on Pers. Script.

[2]Beh. IV, 20.

[3]Stolze,Persepolis Tab. 128 fg.

[4]Noeldeke, Aufsaetze z. Pers. Gesch., p. 24.

[5]Maspero, Hist. anc. des peuples de l'Orient classique, III, 562.

fail to see any valid reason why the small inscription of Murghab, 'adam kūruš xšāyathiya haxāmanišiya,' I am Cyrus the king, the Achæmenidan, should not be assigned to the reign of Cyrus the Great; cf. Herzfeld, Pasargadae, Klio, Beitr. z. alt. Gesch. 8, 1908. Hoffmann-Kutschke, Phil. Nov. 1907; Foy, ZDMG., 54, 361."[1] From present available sources bearing on the subject a definite solution of this problem does not seem possible; however, the balance of evidence appears to favor the assumption that Cyrus the Great is not the author of this inscription.

In addition to the sources indicated above there are several seal, weight, and vase letterings, partly mutilated, partly whole.

The decipherment and reading of these cuneiform texts presuppose a long and toilsome evolution from the monk Odoric (1320), who on his travels discovered what he believed to be "an huge and mightie city of olde time,"[2] down to recent days, in which scholars like L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, in England; F. Spiegel and F. H. Weissbach, in Germany; Dieulafoy and Meillet in France; H. C. Tolman and A. V. W. Jackson, in America, have practically completed the difficult task. These and other scholars, following up the labors of Rawlinson, Lassen, Holtzmann, Grotefend, Westergaard, Jacquet, Windischmann, and others, have examined and reexamined the texts until their restoration is practically complete, making possible an accurate interpretation of the historical records as written in the

[1] Tolman, Anc. Pers. Lex., p. 82, 83

[2] Johnson, Hist. Gram., p. 1.

language of the Persian court. Foremost among the earlier scholars was Major H. C. Rawlinson, who in the British military service in Persia, in 1835, began a systematic study of the great inscriptions of Darius on the perpendicular face of the rock Behistan and at the risk of his life made a copy of the longest of all the inscriptions. In 1846, after a second examination of this rock, the results of his labors, containing an almost complete translation of the Behistan inscriptions, were published. To A. V. W. Jackson is due the honor of being the first after Rawlinson to gain access to the mountain, where he was enabled to make a partial reëxamination. L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, in 1904, at the behest of the British government, made a complete revision and in 1907 published their work, *The Sculptures and Inscription of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistun in Persia.* In 1908 there appeared the *Ancient Persian Lexicon and the Texts of the Achæmenidan Inscriptions,* and also the *Cuneiform Supplement* published by H. C. Tolman, which latter contribution J. Wackernagel has pronounced by far the best of all similar publications up to that date. F. H. Weissbach, in 1911, published *Die Keilinschriften der Achæmeniden,* containing a transcription and translation of the Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian texts. A. Meillet, in his *Grammaire du vieux perse,* speaks of the editions of Tolman and Weissbach as mutually supplementary and as indispensable to the study of the Ancient Persian language. Among the late contributions on the present subject are E. L. Johnson's *Historical Grammar of the Ancient Persian Language,* 1917, and

A. H. M. Stonecipher's *Græco-Persian Names* of the same year.

In addition to the Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian sources the strictly Egyptian must also receive due consideration. At El-Chargeh Darius is represented as a builder in honor of the Egyptian gods. The Hamâmmât inscriptions date from the time of Darius and his son Xerxes. Lately the so-called Papyrus documents were edited by Sachau (Aramaische Papyrus und Ostraka, 1911), and discussed by Tolman (*PAPA*) in 1912, and by Gray (*JAOS*) in 1913.

Two other sources must be mentioned. The one is the Hebrew, which chiefly through the books of Ezra, Nehemiah, Esther, Daniel, and later through the history of Josephus, pictures from the Hebrew point of view the times of the Persian kings. The other source to be considered is the Greek. The earlier works of the Greek writers have been lost to a great extent. Dionysius of Miletus, and Hecatæus had furnished much useful information. Most important, however, are the histories of Herodotus, Ctesias, Xenophon, and Diodorus. Herodotus[1] of course has been constantly employed by all writers of Ancient Persian History to whom the inscriptions and their meaning were not intelligible. But a large number of inaccuracies are found in his reports, especially in those relating to Thebes and upper Egypt. Of great value, however, are his army indexes of Darius I and Xerxes I, as well as his accounts of Babylonia. Ctesias, a physician at the Persian court, mi-

[1]Cf. Tolman and Stevenson, Herod. Emp. E, pp. 5, 6.

nutely described his own journey from Ephesus to Bactria and India, and recorded among other occurrences many events of historical importance. The loss of the notes of this eyewitness of such events is indeed to be lamented. Later Greek writers have borrowed extensively from Herodotus and Ctesias, but by their intermingling of facts with legends have often added to the confusion of the historical vision. Fortunately the Achæmenidan inscriptions make possible the correction of many errors of the Greek writers. It cannot be amiss to assume that on these inscriptions rests the only foundation of truth in the establishment of historical facts as against mere tradition and legend. Philological study has once again proved itself the handmaiden of truth.

II

The Rise of the Achæmenidans

The line of the Achæmenidans is not a particularly long one, but among them are a few to whom history rightfully assigns a place among the great. But for these few, Persia would have remained a small and insignificant country in the little known regions of the Persian Gulf. It was the ambition and activity of these members of this royal house that caused the fall of Media and Babylonia, and upon their ruins erected an empire which at various epochs stretched from the Danube to the Persian Gulf, from Turkestan to the Mediterranean and the Ægean seas, an area estimated at approximately two million square miles with possibly eighty million inhabitants of different races, nationalities, religions, and customs. The creation of such a government demanded talent, for the task was stupendous and its execution most difficult. It is a significant fact that when the spirit of Cyrus, of Darius I, of Artaxerxes I had vanished, the empire hastened to decay.

A few details respecting the beginning of this royal house are recorded by Cyrus on the Babylonian Cylinder and by Darius I and some of his successors on the Persian monuments. Cyrus relates the following regarding his ancestry on the Cylinder named after him: "I am Cyrus, king of the World, the great king, the king of Tin-tir, the king of the land of

Shinar and Accad, the king of the Four Quarters, the son of Cambyses, the great king, king of the city of Anšan; the grandson of Cyrus, the great king, king of the city of Anšan; the great grandson of Teispes, the great king, king of the city of Anšan."[1] Darius with reference to his family speaks in this manner: "I (am) Darius, the great king, king of kings, king in Persia, king of countries, the son of Hystaspes, the grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenidan. Says Darius the king: My father (is) Hystaspes; the father of Hystaspes (is) Arsames; the father of Arsames (is) Ariaramnes; the father of Ariaramnes (is) Teispes; the father of Teispes (is) Achæmenes."[2]

The progenitors of both were of Iranian descent. Coming from northern regions, they settled in the rough but fertile country on the Persian Gulf. In the beginning Persia was ruled by several noble families, among whom the Achæmenidans, at first being *primi inter pares*, gradually became the royal family. The earliest known capital, Pasargadæ, was situated near the locality where later the city of Persepolis was founded. The reports of Cyrus and Darius indicate that there existed two different lines of the ancient house. Achæmenes is the first ancestor mentioned; his son was Teispes. Teispes left two sons, the elder Cyrus and the younger Ariaramnes. The double lineage of the house of Achæmenes is thus established beyond dispute.

Some scholars contend that these two lines ruled in Persia and Anšan, respectively, and in support of

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[1]Cyrus Cyl. ll. 20–21, Ball, Light from the East, p. 225.
[2]Beh. 1, 1, 2.

this contention no less authority than Darius himself is quoted as writing: "From long ago our family have been kings; says Darius, the king: Eight of my family (there were) who were formerly kings. I am the ninth; in two lines we are kings."[1] The word "xšāyathiya," though commonly understood to mean "king," may also be rendered "royal," "princely."[2] The word "duvitāparanam," rendered "in two lines" has caused considerable discussion among Ancient Persian scholars.[3] Tolman's interpretation, "long aforetime," has been accepted by many critics; it gives good sense, eliminates difficulties arising from other readings, and at the same time is etymologically correct. To name this house after Achæmenes and yet not consider him the first king is nothing unusual, but simply analogous to referring to the house of David as the house of "Jesse," or in modern times speaking of the house of "Bourbon" in France and of "Hohenzollern" in Germany, though neither country ever had a king "Bourbon" or "Hohenzollern."

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[1]Beh. 1, 3, 4.

[2]Bartholomæ translates "hyā amāxam taumā xšāyathiyā āha," *our family was royal*, instead of "*our family were kings*," conveying an adjectival meaning. See Altiranisches Woerterbuch. Weissbach is of like opinion, translating "Von alters her sind wir adlich, von alters her war unser Geschlecht koeniglich;" Keilinschr. der Achæm, p. 11.

[3]duvitāparanam: Weissbach, "In zwei Reihen," Keilinschr. der Achæm, p. 11; Tolman, "long aforetime," Anc. Pers. Lex., pp. 5 and 102.

The genealogical order, then, in agreement with this interpretation is as follows:[1]

0. ACHÆMENES

1. *Teispes.*

2. *Cyrus*	3. *Ariaramnes*
4. *Cambyses*	5. *Arsames*
6. *Cyrus the Great*	7. *Hystaspes*
8. *Cambyses*	9. *Darius the Great*

This order harmonizes with the Babylonian Cylinder and the Behistan inscription, precluding the addition of two more names as reported by Herodotus,[2] who between 0-1 inserts Cambyses I and Cyrus I. Darius could not well have written: "Eight there were who were formerly 'kings' [or royal]; I am the ninth," if the Greek writer were correct in his assumption. The quotation in question, as has been suggested above, does not constitute an absolute proof that eight actually reigning kings are meant. It is quite reasonable to conjecture that Cyrus I, Cambyses I, Cyrus the Great, and Cambyses II were the representatives of the ruling line, while Ariaramnes, Arsames, and Hystaspes, father of Darius I

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[1]Justi, Goett. Gel. Anz. 1888, 33 takes Achæmenes and Teispes to be the first kings, and then divides the royal house into two lines: Cyrus I, Cambyses I, Cyrus II, Cambyses II. . . . Ariaramnes, Arsames, and Hystaspes, the last not being king, yet placed alongside the others. No convincing explanation is given for this alleged exception. Prašek (Gesch. der Med. und Pers. I, p. 181) presents the following table; Ruling: Teispes I, Cambyses I, Cyrus I, Teispes II, Cyrus II, Cambyses II, Cyrus III, Cambyses III, Darius. Similarly also Tolman and Stevenson, Herod. Emp. E. pp. 78, 79.

[2]Hdt. VII, 11.

perpetuated the nonruling branch of the royal house. The monuments thus disagree with the mythical narration of Herodotus, according to which Cyrus the Great is said to have been the son of Cambyses and grandson of Astyages.[1]

Under the early kings, the Persian tribes were only loosely connected; there was no real unity, no proper cohesion. The strong and ambitious Cyrus soon recognized the danger involved in such a federation, a possibility of revolution as an obstacle to the realization of his visions of conquest and glory. As soon, therefore, as he had taken over the reins of government, he brought about the comparative unification of the different tribes. In this accomplishment he established the foundation for the Persian Empire and merited the title of Great which the world has since accorded him.

A less decided character would probably not have seized the opportunity for national aggrandizement offered in the gradual downfall of the states which had once dominated a considerable part of Asia. Having inherited their power and dominion from other nations which had declined and fallen, they in their turn, in the unrelenting evolution of history, were doomed to a similar fate. Media, Babylonia, and Lydia, having run their course, were compelled to relinquish the scepter; and there was one waiting to receive it from their hands. This was none other than a vassal of the Medes, Cyrus,[2] king of Anšan, founder of the Persian Empire.

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[1]Hdt. I, 107 fg.

[2]Anc. Pers. kūruš; Elam. kuraš; Bab. ku-ra-aš. Etymology and meaning in doubt, probably non-Iranian name.

III

Cyrus the Great

After the fall of Nineveh, 607 B.C., Cyaxares, king of Media, died, leaving the tottering empire to his son Astyages.[1] A conflict arose between Media and Babylonia. When the attention of Astyages was concentrated upon the campaign against the Babylonian king, Cyrus seized the opportunity to raise the standard of revolt. While Astyages besieged the city of Charrân, the rebel leader gathered a small but efficient army in Persia and gave battle to his sovereign, forcing him to retreat. Again Cyrus attacked and, through the treacherous conduct of the Median generals, Astyages was defeated the second time and delivered captive to the insurgent, who declared himself king in Media at Ecbatana.[2] The rich treasures stored at this city were carried away to Anšan. The annals of Nabunaid[3] relate these events as follows: "His troops he (Astyages) collected and against Cyrus, king of Anšan, . . . he marched. As for Astyages, his troops revolted against him and he was seized and delivered up to Cyrus. Cyrus marched against Agam-

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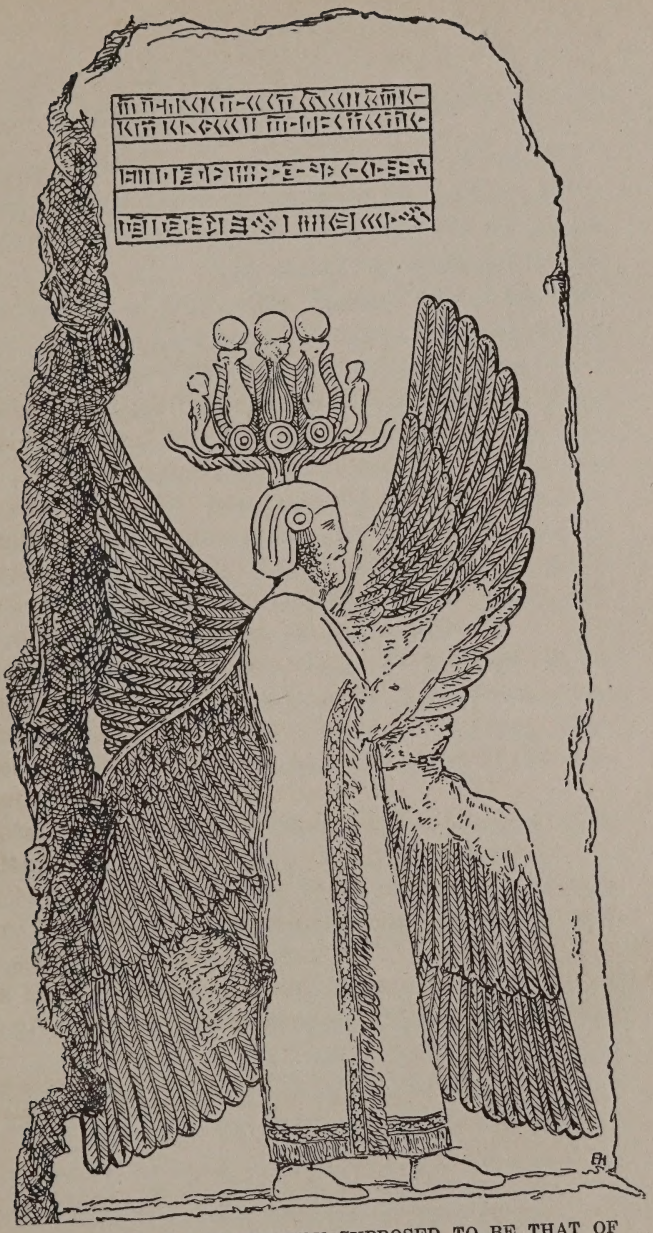
[1]Hdt. I, 106, 107. . . . For the view that Astyages was. king of the Scythians cf. Tolman and Stevenson, Herod Emp. E. pp. 69, 70.

[2]Hdt. I, 124 fg.

[3]Ann. Nab. col. II, Obv. part one, Ball, Light from the East, p. 219.



WINGED RELIEF (COMMONLY SUPPOSED TO BE THAT OF CYRUS THE GREAT), AT PASARGADÆ

SUPERSCRIPTION IN PERSIAN, ELAMITE, AND BABYLONIAN

tanu (Ecbatana), the royal city. The silver, gold, goods, and substance of Ecbatana he spoiled, and to the land of Anšan he took the goods and substance that were gotten." The narrative contained on the clay cylinder of Nabunaid[1] likewise tells of the conquest of Media by Cyrus. It says: "But Merodach spake with me: 'The Umman-Manda, which thou hast mentioned—they, their country, and the kings that marched with them,—are no more.' In the third year, when it came, they (the two gods) caused him (Cyrus), to march forth, and Cyrus, king of Anšan, his (Merodach's) young servant, with his few troops routed the numerous Umman-Manda folk. Astyages, the king of Umman-Manda, he took, and brought him a captive to his own country."

Not satisfied, however, with the heritage of the Median dynasty, Cyrus proceeded also against Lydia. He defeated the hosts of Crœsus, the Lydian king, and Sardis, the capital, opened its gates to the conqueror 546 B.C.

Directing his gaze westward he also began, with varying degree of success, the subjugation of the Greek coast cities in Asia Minor, which were indeed very desirable prizes of conquest on account of their wealth and extensive trade.

Yet there remained unconquered Babylonia, a powerful country and a dangerous rival. Having previously swept from conquest to conquest, he now commenced an intensive campaign for the overthrow of this kingdom. The king of Babylonia at that time,

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[1]Cyl. Nab. col. I, Ball, Light from the East, p. 209.

according to his own inscription, was Nabunaid,[1] appearing in Herodotus as Labynetus.[2] The Greek writer reports a long siege, concluding with the entrance of the Persians by the Euphrates river bed, a surprise attack for the feasting Babylonians, and the consequent capture of the city.[3] According to the account of Nabunaid, which differs from that of Herodotus, Cyrus, having collected his army, crossed the Tigris at Arbela, having previously invaded the surrounding territory, and thus took Babylon in a sudden attack. The annals of the Babylonian king read: "In the month Nišan, Cyrus, king of the land of Persia, mustered his army, and below the city of Arbela the Tigris he crossed; and in the month Iyar to the land of Ish . . . (he came; and) its king he slew, took his goods, and his own deputy he stationed therein . . . ."[4]

"In the month Tamuz, Cyrus, a battle at Uguki on (the bank of) the river Zalzallat, against the troops of the land of Accad having fought, the people of the land of Accad rose in revolt. People were slaughtered. On the 14th day, Sippara was taken without a battle. Nabonidus fled. On the 16th day Gobryas, pasha of the land of Gutium, and the troops of Cyrus without a battle entered Babylon. Afterwards, Nabonidus being shut up in Babylon was taken. Until the end of the month, the shields of the land of Gu-

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[1]Clay Cyl. Nab.

[2]Hdt. I, 188. See further Tolman and Stevenson Herod. Emp. E., pp. 50, 51.

[3]Hdt. I, 190.

[4]Ann. Nab. Col. II, Obv. 15–17, Ball, Light from the East, p. 219.

tium the gates of E-Saggil surrounded. Arms of no kind in E-Saggil and the sanctuaries had been stored, and no accoutrements had passed in. In the month Marchesven, on the 3rd day, Cyrus entered Babylon, the walls fell down before him. Peace for the city he established; Cyrus to Babylon peace, to the whole of it spake. Gobryas, his pasha, he appointed governor in Babylon. From the month Chisleu to the month Adar, the gods of the land of Accad, whom Nabonidus had brought down to Babylon, unto their own cities returned. In Marchesven, at dark on the 11th day, Gobryas (marched) against . . . The king's consort died. From the 27th of the month of Adar to the 3rd of the month Nisan, weeping (was made) in Accad; all the people gashed their heads. On the 4th day Cambyses, the son of Cy(rus) having repaired to (the temple called) E-Gad-Kalama-Summu, the Officials of the house of the Scepter of Nebo (conferred on him) the scepter (of the world)."[1] The scepter of the world above mentioned appears to have been dedicated to the god Nebo in some of his shrines, and it is possible that the officials of the temple at Accad were desirous of gaining favor with the new ruler by honoring his son with this emblem of divinity. The Babylonians seem to have been dissatisfied with their ruler, and apparently played into the hands of the Persian. It is likely that Cyrus was hailed as their liberator, since there were considerable elements in the city, especially the priests of Merodach, who were disaffected. The Cyrus Cylinder declares this most emphatically. Made probably at the behest of

[1]Ann. Nab. Col. I, Rev., 12–25, Ball, Light from the East, pp. 220, 221.

Cyrus, it describes the defects of the reign of Nabunaid, his neglect of the god Merodach, and the enthronement of the king of Anšan in Babylon, while in conclusion are enumerated the good deeds of Cyrus and his son Cambyses, who had restored the sanctuaries and freed the people from oppression. Cyrus in particular appears as the minister of Merodach, making it his task to restore the gods of Babylon to their respective places, as also the gods of the foreign people who dwelt in the city. It will be seen, therefore, that the favors shown the Hebrews, the permission to return, and the restoration of their sacred vessels, were merely a part of a general policy toward the foreign peoples who had been deported to Babylon.[1]

With great minuteness the Cyrus Cylinder tells of this policy: "Their sighing I stilled, I relieved their sorrow. To (execute) works of Merodach, the great Lord (upon me) laid command. To me Cyrus, the king, that feareth Him, and to Cambyses the son, the issue of (my) body . . . (and to) my who(le) army he graciously inclined, and in peace before it kindly. . . . All the kings who abode in royal halls, who in all the Quarters (of the world) . . . the Gods that abode in them I restored to their place, and settled in an eternal abode; all their populations I gathered together and restored to their own dwelling places. And the Gods of the land of Shinar and Accad whom Nabonidus, to the anger of the Lord of the Gods, had brought into Shu-Anna, by the command of Merodach the great Lord in peace in their

[1]Cf. Ball, Light from the East, p. 223.

own shrines I made inhabit (again) a dwelling of heart's delight. May all the Gods, whom I brought again unto their own cities daily before Bel and Nebo, speak of length of days for me! may they utter words in my favor, and to Merodach, my Lord, let them say: 'Cyrus the king that feareth Thee, and Cambyses his son . . . made them all dwell in a quiet habitation.'"[1]

The Hebrew sources bearing on this subject are numerous and do not deviate greatly from these monuments. The general thought in them is that God was to punish wicked and overbearing Babylon, and he accomplished this through his faithful servant Cyrus.[2] Not infrequently when Biblical accounts have been criticized as historically inaccurate, archæological discoveries and the decipherment of the cuneiform writings have confirmed the statements of the Jewish writers. Forms of proper names may vary in different tongues, a confusion of dates and personages may at times have crept in, but in the statement of the outstanding features of their narratives these authors do not miss the mark very far. The Biblical account, for instance, would imply that Belshazzar was the last king of Babylon, the king slain when the city was taken by the Persians on the night of a great banquet at the palace.[3] In confirmation of this report, the Clay Cylinder of Nabunaid states: "As regards Bêlu-Sharra-Ušur (Belshazzar),

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[1]Cyr. Cyl. 26–36, Ball, Light from the East, p. 225.

[2]Isa. 41: 2 fg; 44, 28; 45: 1 and 13; 2 Chron. 36: 20–23; Jer. 25: 12, etc.

[3]Dan. 5: 30.

the eldest son, the issue of my bowels, implant in his heart the Fear of Thy great Godhead!"[1] Although the Biblical writer erroneously names Darius as conqueror of the last Babylonian king, the inscriptions quoted testify that the account in Daniel is substantially correct, pointing out that there was a son of Nabunaid by the name of Belshazzar and that this king's son was in command of a Babylonian army.[2] Herodotus I, 191 also relates the same happenings.

The fertile land of Egypt, a land even then rich in renown as in resources, did not escape the ambitions of Cyrus, and while he was still living his son Cambyses prepared to subdue that country.

Misfortune, however, soon befell the king. When engaged in battle with certain hostile tribes he was severely wounded and died[3] 529 B.C.

Cyrus must ever be counted among the far-seeing statesmen and strong characters of history. In a comparatively brief time he had created a great empire. Wherever such a plan was feasible, he left the organization of the conquered kingdoms intact, and their independence continued to a certain degree. However, he appeared everywhere as the legitimate king. In Media he claimed the kingship on account of his marriage to the Median princess Amytis. In Babylonia the priests represented Nabunaid as a usurper and Cyrus as servant of Merodach. But he remained a Persian at all times. Persians, in prefer-

[1]Clay Cyl. of Nab. found at Mugayyar. Ball, Light from the East, pp. 207, 208.

[2]Ann. Nab. Col. I, Obv., 5, 10, 19, 23, Ball, Light from the East. p. 219.

[3]Hdt. I, 214; Ctesias, Frag. 38 Gilm.

ence to others, were appointed to all high offices, and Persian soldiers were the chief source of his power. The affection of the Persian people in general for their king was great, for Herodotus reports that they significantly designated him "Father."[1]

[1]Hdt. III, 89; Diod. IV, 30.

IV

Cambyses and Bardiya

The founder of the empire left two sons, Cambyses[1] and Bardiya[2] (Smerdis), of whom the former inherited the father's kingdom. The younger brother was a great favorite with the people, however, and it was but natural that Cambyses should fear danger for his throne from this source. Before he set out on his Egyptian campaign he caused the assassination of Bardiya as a precautionary measure against possible usurpation. The campaign lasted only a short time, for the resistance of the Egyptians was completely broken after the battles of Pelusium and Memphis.[3] For reasons unknown the king seems to have absented himself from the national capital beyond a reasonable limit of time. This absence produced serious consequences, for a Magian, Gaumāta by name, who resembled the murdered Bardiya, taking advantage of the dislike which the Persians are said to have had for Cambyses, proclaimed himself the missing son of Cyrus and usurped the throne. The Behistan Inscription describes the situation with great minuteness: "Says Darius the king: this (is) what (was) done by me after that I became king; Cambyses by name, the son of Cyrus of our family, he was king

[1]Anc. Pers. kanbū-jiya, Elam. kampuziya; Bab. kam-bu-zi-ia. kam+buj, enjoying happiness; cf. Tolman, Anc. Pers. Lex., p. 80.

[2]Anc. Pers. bardiya; Elam. pirtiya; Bab. bar-zi-i-a.

[3]Prašek, Gesch. der Med. und Pers. I, p. 254.

here; of this Cambyses there was a brother, Bardiya by name, possessing a common mother and the same father with Cambyses; afterwards Cambyses slew that Bardiya; when Cambyses slew Bardiya, it was not known to the people that Bardiya was slain; afterwards Cambyses went to Egypt; when Cambyses went to Egypt, after that the people became hostile; after that there was deceit to a great extent in the land, both in Persia and in Media and in the other provinces. Says Darius the king: Afterwards there was one man, a Magian, Gaumâta by name; he rose up from Paishiyâuvâdâ; (there is) a mountain named Arakadri, from there fourteen days in the month Viyakhna[1] were completing their course when he rose up; thus he deceived the people: I am Bardiya, the son of Cyrus, brother of Cambyses; afterwards all the people became estranged from Cambyses (and) went over to him, both Persia and Media and the other provinces; he seized the kingdom; 9 days in the month Garmapada[1] were completing their course—then he seized the kingdom; afterwards Cambyses died by a self-imposed death."[2] The rebellion spread rapidly throughout Media and Persia, and it seems that the other provinces followed their lead.

Herodotus claims that Cambyses killed his brother after the Egyptian campaign.[3] This view is proved erroneous by the records of the inscriptions. While the king was returning from Egypt he learned of the state of affairs in the capital and died 522 B.C., ac-

[1]Cf. Sect. on Pers. months.
[2]Beh. I, 10, 11.
[3]Hdt. III, 30.

cording to the statement of Darius, by a "self-imposed death." But before his death he revealed the true circumstances regarding the fate of his brother and proved to the Persian princes accompanying him that the usurper was a pseudo-Bardiya. According to some Cambyses committed suicide. No absolute proof for this can be furnished, and there did not seem to be any reason for such action, since his army was crowned with victory and in all probability would have been able to accomplish the overthrow of the insurgent. The expression "uvāmaršiyuš amariyatā" may well mean that he wounded himself accidentally and died in consequence.[1] The reports of the Greek writer regarding Cambyses are very unfavorable to the king. It must be remembered, however, that the writer received his information from Egyptian sources, and since the Persian had entered this country as a conqueror, it can hardly be expected that these sources do him entire justice.

[1]Hdt. III, 64 fg. Cf. Tolman Anc. Pers. Lex., p. 78.

V

Darius the Great

A. Revolutionary Wars

Darius[1] I must be recognized not only as the greatest Persian king, but as one of the most imposing personalities of history. Born about 550 B.C.,[2] he was the eldest son of Hystaspes[3] the Achæmenidan, of the non-ruling line of this house, as has been shown earlier. At no time does he neglect the opportunity to assert his kingship expressly and in detail: "I (am) Darius, the great king, king of kings, king in Persia, king of lands, son of Hystaspes, grandson of Arsames, the Achæmenidan."[4] As leader of the bodyguard of Cambyses he accompanied him to Egypt[5] and upon the death of Cambyses he was made commander-in-chief of the Egyptian army, and as such felt himself to be the legitimate heir to the Persian throne. This claim against Gaumâta he pressed with great determination, and with equal resolve he proceeded to free his people from the political agitation and mandates of the Magians, who had exerted such evil influence under his predecessor.

[1]Anc. Pers. dārayavauš; Elm. tariyamauš; Bab. da-ri-ia-muš; Anc. Pers. dāraya, dar, to hold, possess, + va (h)u, good, wealth.

[2]Prašek, Gesch. der Med. und Pers. II, 26.

[3]Hdt. I, 209.

[4]Beh. I, 1, et passim.

[5]Hdt. III, 139.

Difficult, indeed, was the situation confronting him. The impostor had many faithful followers and knew how to make himself popular with the masses. The first step of Darius was the removal of his rival. Having sought him out in Media, he and his allies forced their way into the stronghold of Gaumâta and slew him,[1] in 521 B.C.

Darius himself narrates this episode thus: "There was not a man, neither a Persian nor a Mede nor any one of our family who could make that Gaumâta the Magian deprived of the rulership. The people feared him for his tyranny[2]; he would slay[3] the many who had known Bardiya formerly. On this account he would slay the people: 'that they may not know me, that I am not Bardiya, the son of Cyrus.' No one dared to say anything in regard to Gaumâta the Magian until I came; then I implored Auramazda. Auramazda brought me aid. Ten days in the month Bâgayâdi[4] were completing their course, when I slew that Gaumāta the Magian and what men were his chief associates; (there is) a stronghold, named Sikayauvati, a country named Nisaya, in Media, here I slew him; I deprived him of the kingdom; by the will of Auramazda I became king; Auramazda gave me the kingdom." [5]

In order to fortify his position it became necessary,

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[1]Hdt. III, 78.

[2]Tolman's interpretation of daršma, "tyranny, boldness, despotism," is preferable to Weissbach's "sehr."

[3]It has also been transl. "he slew." The opt. should not be suppressed.

[4]See Sect. on Pers. Months.

[5]Beh. I, 13.

now that he had removed the subtle Gaumâta, to go further and obliterate the memory of this pseudo-Bardiya from the minds of the people. All the usurper's decrees were nullified, the edict releasing the taxes was declared void, and the countless special privileges granted to individuals were terminated. Darius was, however, extremely generous to the satraps and his generals. For instance, Otanes received lordly possessions at Gaziura on the Iris, which his family retained for a long time. Similarly Gobryas, Hydarnes. Megabyzos received special favors under Xerxes.[1] Dark and troublous, however, was the beginning of his reign, a continuous struggle to put down rebellion after rebellion, all of which probably, as Weissbach assumes, broke out in the same year, but which required a longer period for final suppression.[2] Often in desperate straits, the king nevertheless

[1]Hdt. III, 160.

[2]hamahyāyā tharda, rendered by Weissbach "in einem und demselben Jahre;" cf. Weissbach, ZDMG. 61, 731, and Tolman, Anc. Pers. Lex. 96. Tolman further remarks: "Weissbach's interpretation (see voc. s. v. thard) is very probable, yet I would note the following objections: (1) The lacuna before Bab. MUANNA fits gab-bi, *all*, very well; cf. Oppert's old interpretation, *dans toute l'anne, toujours, dans toute ma vie*, to which I would add Turfan MSS. hâv-sâr, *eius modi*. So KT., *always*. (2) The omission of the det. AN (which invariably occurs in expressions of time) from the corresponding Elam. phrase. (3) The congestion of all these recorded events in one year. Weissbach in a personal letter to me (quoted in voc.) would avoid this difficulty by supposing that Darius's words are not literally true here; that the rebellions broke out in one and the same year, but putting them down required a longer time, a difficult explanation when we read the express words of the king, who is recording what he, not others, accomplished." (Anc. Pers. Lex. p. 23).

proved more than a match for his enemies. The cause of the revolutions may be sought partly in the burden of taxation,[1] and partly in that he had not quite succeeded in his attempt to show himself the legitimate successor to Cambyses. Those countries which had declared themselves for Gaumâta, were mostly affected, since they believed the usurper to be the son and rightful successor of Cyrus. Happily the rebels lacked leadership and unity to organize an overwhelming opposition. Even the satraps of Egypt and Lydia assumed a defiant attitude and refused to furnish the aid requested of them by the king. Nothing else remained for Darius but to depend entirely on Media and Persia.

SUSIANA

Susiana was the first country to hoist the flag of revolution. A certain Âthrina proclaimed himself king. The Persian army, however, apparently without difficulty, quickly suppressed the uprising. The inscriptions thus relate the Susian revolt, which took place in winter 522-521 B.C.: "Says Darius the king: When I had slain Gaumâta the Magian, (there was) one man, named Âthrina, the son of Upadara(n)ma; he arose in Susiana. Thus he spoke to the people: I am king in Susiana. Then the Susians became rebellious; they went over to that Âthrina. He became king in Susiana.[2] . . . . Says Darius the king: after that I sent to Susiana. That Âthrina was brought to me bound. I slew him."[3]

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[1]Spiegel, Iranische Altertumskunde II, 329.

[2]Beh. I, 16.

[3]Beh. I, 17.

BABYLONIA

Of a more serious character was the revolution which broke out twice in Babylon. Herodotus speaks of only one revolt;[1] the inscriptions, however, give the account of two separate uprisings,[2] first under Nadintabaira,[3] and later under Arkha, an Armenian. Both leaders called themselves Nebuchadrezzar.[4] The first insurrection came to an end when the army of Nadintabaira was utterly defeated in the battle at Zâzâna on the Euphrates. The monuments record this first Babylonian event in this manner: "And (there was) one man, a Babylonian, named Nadintabaira the son of Aniri, he rebelled in Babylon, to the people he lied thus: 'I am Nebuchadrezzar the son of Nabunaid.' After that the whole of the Babylonian people went over to that Nadintabaira. Babylon became rebellious, the rulership in Babylon he seized. . . . After that I went to Babylon against that Nadintabaira who called himself Nebuchadrezzar. The army of Nadintabaira occupied the Tigris. There it held its position. And there was a flotilla. After that I placed the army on floats.[5] Some I made

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[1]Hdt. III, 150 fg.

[2]Beh. I, 16, 18, 19; Beh. III, 14, 15.

[3]Anc. Pers. nadintabaira; Elam. nititpel; Bab. ni-din-tu-(ilu)bêl.

[4]Anc. Pers. nabukudracara; Elam. napkuturruzir; Bab. nabûkudurri-uṣur; generally known as Neb-u-chad-nez-zar.

[5]Tolman renders maškāuvā "on floats of skins," Anc. Pers. Lex., p. 118. Weissbach objects that maška means only "skin," and would render here "Schlæuche," Keilinschr. der Achæm., p. 25. The word undoubtedly refers to a means by which a river or stream may be crossed. The sentence above certainly implies "floats of skins."

to be borne by camels, for others I brought horses. Auramazda brought me aid. According to the will of Auramazda we crossed the Tigris. There the army of Nadintabaira I smote utterly. . . . After that I went to Babylon. When I had not yet come to Babylon . . . (there is) a town named Zâzâna, along the Euphrates, there that Nadintabaira who called himself Nebuchadrezzar met me with his army to engage in battle. After that we fought the battle. Auramazda brought me aid. According to the will of Auramazda I smote the army of Nadintabaira utterly. The enemy was driven into the water. The water carried him away.[1] . . . After that with a few horsemen Nadintabaira went to Babylon. . . . After that I went to Babylon. According to the will of Auramazda I both seized Babylon and that Nadintabaira I seized. After that I slew that Nadintabaira at Babylon."[2] The leader lost his life, but the rebellious city apparently did not meet with severe punishment. The battle of Zâzâna and the earlier engagement on the Tigris, took place probably in the winter 522-521 B.C. The conqueror remained at Babylon for some time, for he writes: "yātā adam Bābirauv āham," *while I was in Babylon.*[3]

When later the attention of Darius was held in Media and Persia, the Babylonians made a second effort to liberate themselves from Persian dominion. This time they rallied around Arkha, an Armenian, who repeated the former lie, stating that he was

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[1]Beh. I, 16, 18 fg.

[2]Beh. II, 1.

[3]Beh. II, 2.

Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabunaid. Intaphernes was sent against the rebel leader, who was defeated and later crucified in this ancient city as a warning to all such as might entertain similar thoughts of rebellion in the future.[1]

While the Persian ruler tarried in the conquered city after the first uprising, revolt and disaffection spread over the entire country; the account reads: "These (are) the provinces which rebelled against me, Persia, Susiana, Assyria, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, Scythia."[2] Susiana rebelled the second time under one Martiya, who assumed the name Imanish, king in Susiana. But as before, the attempt ended in complete failure, and Martiya was executed.[3]

MEDIA

More dangerous was the outlook in Media, where a certain Phraortes claimed descent from Cyaxares.[4] The importance of the rebellion is emphasized by the fact that Herodotus, with the exception of the second Babylonian uprising, knows only of the Median rebellion.[5] The king at once recognized the grave danger. Since only a small army was available, the

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[1]Beh. III, 14, 15.

[2]Beh. II, 2.

[3]Beh. II, 3, 4.

[4]Tolman and Stevenson in Herod. Emp. E. pp. 68, 69, express the opinion that Cyaxares, Uvaxštra, was the last representative of the national kingdom of Media, and that Astyages was the king of the Scythians. If the latter really had been a Median king, it is argued, Phraortes would have claimed descent from Astyages.

[5]Hdt. I, 130.

first engagement, which took place at Mâru, was probably indecisive, since the king's general Hydarnes[1] was forced to await reënforcements under the leadership of the king himself at Kampada.[2] Hydarnes was relieved of his command, and Dâdarshi, an Armenian, took his place. The new general proceeded toward Armenia to attack Phraortes and endeavored to keep open the highway from Babylon to Ecbatana. The royal army was unable to proceed. After several small engagements at Zuzza,[3] Tigra, and Uyamâ had not produced the results desired, Dâdarshi withdrew and requested aid from the king. This request furnished Darius the excuse to change the command again. A Persian noble, Vaumiša by name, now led the army in battle at Izarâ,[4] and again at Autiyâra in May of the same year. So far, it seems there were no decisive results, for new measures were taken at once. The two armies under Darius and Vaumiša united and a great battle was fought at Kunduru[5] in Media. Here the rebel army was defeated. The leaders fled, but were captured at Ragâ. Phraortes was terribly mutilated and finally crucified at Ecbatana.

The final collapse of the Median rebellion is recorded on the monuments as follows: "Says Darius

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[1]Anc. Pers. Vidarna, name of associate of Darius against the pseudo-Bardiya.

[2]Beh. II, 6.

[3]Anc. Pers. mutilated. Elam. zuzza; Babl. zu-u-zu.

[4]Reading doubtful. Weissbach supplies "–zal–" (Izalâ), Keilinschr. der Achæm., p. 35. Tolman "–zar–" (Izara), Anc. Pers. Lex., p. 74.

[5]Beh. II, 5–12.

the king: After that I departed from Babylon (and) went to Media. When I came to Media (there is) a town named Kunduru in Media, here this Phraortes who called himself king in Media, went with (his) army against me to engage in battle. After that we engaged in battle. Auramazda brought me aid. According to the will of Auramazda, I utterly defeated the army of Phraortes. Twenty-five days in the month Adukaniša[1] were completing their course, then we engaged in battle. . . . Says Darius the king: After that this Phraortes with a few horsemen fled. (There is) a region, Ragâ by name, in Media, thence he went. After that my army I sent after him. Phraortes was seized and led to me. I cut off (his) nose and ears and tongue, and put out his eyes. In my gates he was kept bound. All the people saw him. After that I put him on a cross[2] at Ecbatana. And what men were his chief associates, these I haled within the fortress of Ecbatana."[3]

SAGARTIA

A similar fate awaited Cithrantakhma, who claimed to be king in Sagartia. When he had met defeat, he was also terribly mutilated and ended his life at Arbela. In regard to this rebellion the king writes as follows: "Says Darius the king: One man, named

[1]Cf. Sect. on Pers. Months.

[2]uzmayāpatiy akunavam has been rendered by Weissbach "pfaehlen." Tolman, "put on a cross"; he compares this phrase with a similar expression in the "Dârôbadagêftìg (Crucifixion), M, 18; ". . . they will give me over and put me on the cross. . . " The latter explanation would seem more likely. cf. Tolman, Anc. Pers. Lex., 15, footnote.

[3]Beh. II, 12, 13.

Cithrantakhma, a Sagartian, he became rebellious from me, thus he spoke to the people: 'I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares.' After that I sent forth the Persian and Median army. A Median, named Takhmaspâda, my servant, him I made chief of them. Thus I said to them: Go forth; smite that rebellious army which does not call itself mine. After that Takhmaspâda went forth with the army. He engaged in battle with Cithrantakhma. Auramazda brought me aid. According to the will of Auramazda my army smote that rebellious army utterly. Cithrantakhma they captured (and) led (him) to me. After that I cut off his nose and ears and put out his eyes. In my gates he was kept bound. All the people saw him. After that I put him on the cross in Arbela."[1]

PARTHIA, HYRCANIA

Parthia and Hyrcania also had joined the ranks of the rebels, and declared their allegiance to Phraortes. Hystaspes, father of the king, was in command of the forces in Parthia. An engagement took place at Vishpauzâti, but apparently it had not resulted favorably for Hystaspes, since the king was compelled to send him aid. Again, in the month Garmapada,[2] the armies met at Patigrabanâ where the rebels suffered complete defeat. The inscriptions give the account of these events in the following words: "Says Darius the king: Parthia and Hyrcania became rebellious from me, and had called themselves as belonging to Phraortes. My father Hystaspes, he was [in Parthia;]

[1] Beh. II, 14.

[2] Cf. Sect. on Pers. Months.

him the people left (and) became rebellious. After that Hystaspes [went forth with the army] that was loyal to him; (there is) a town named Vish[pau]z[â]ti [in Parthia]. Here he made battle with the Parthians. Auramazda [brought] me [aid]. According to the will of Auramazda Hystaspes smote that rebellious army utterly. [Twenty-two days] in the month Viyakhna[1] were completing their course; then the battle was fought by them. . . . Says Darius the king: After that I sent forth from Ragâ the Persian army to Hystaspes. When this army came to Hystaspes, after that Hystaspes took that army (and) went forth. (There is) a town named Patigrabanâ in Parthia, there he made battle with the rebels. Auramazda brought me aid. According to the will of Auramazda Hystaspes smote utterly that rebellious army. One day in the month Garmapada was completing its course, then the battle (was) fought by them.[2] . . . .Says Darius the king: After that it became my country. This (is) what (was) done by me in Parthia."[3]

MARGIANA

The Margians also raised the flag of revolution. A certain Frâda placed himself at the head of the people in Margiana. Against him Dâdarshi, satrap in Bactria, proceeded and quickly subdued the movement. The inscriptions report this rebellion as fol-

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[1]Cf. Sect. on Pers. Months.

[2]Bab. version: they killed six(?) thousand five hundred and seventy (twenty Weissbach p. 44) and took prisoners four thousand one hundred and ninety-two. Cf. Tolman, Anc. Pers. Lex., 19.

[3]Beh. II, 16, Beh. III, 1, 2.

lows: "Says Darius the king: A country named Margiana, this became rebellious to me. One man, named Frâda, a Margian, him they made chief. After that I sent forth a Persian named Dâdarshi, my servant, satrap in Bactria, against him. Thus I spoke to him: Go forth, smite that army which does not call itself mine. After that Dâdarshi went away with the army. Auramazda brought me aid. According to the will of Auramazda my army utterly smote that rebellious army. Twenty-three days in the month Âthriyâdiya[1] were completing their course, then the battle (was) fought by them.[2] . . . Says Darius the king: After that it became my country. This (is) what (was) done by me in Bactria." [3]

YAUTIYÂ.

Still another serious uprising occurred in the region of Yautiyâ where Vahyazdâta pretended to be Bardiya, the son of Cyrus. Great indeed must have been the attachment of the people to the brother of Cambyses, since again a large part of the Persian population turned away from their king and followed the second pretender. Even part of the royal army proved disloyal and forsook the cause of Darius. The new foe was defeated by forces made up chiefly of Median troops under Artavardiya at Rakhâ, and again the second time at the mountain Parga. Vahyazdâta and his chief aides died on the cross at Uvâ-

[1]Cf. Sect. on Pers. Months.

[2]Bab. version: they killed fifty-five thousand and three; took prisoners six thousand five hundred and seventy-two. Cf. Tolman, Anc. Pers. Lex., 19.

[3]Beh. III, 3, 4.

daicaya in Persia. Darius in his own words describes the situation in this manner: "Says Darius the king: One man, named Vahyazdâta, (there is) a town named Târavâ, (there is) a region named Yautiyâ in Persia, there he dwelt. He was the second to rise up in Persia. Thus he spoke to the people: I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus. Then the Persian army which (was) in the palace repudiated their loyalty, they became estranged from me (and) went over to that Vahyazdâta. He became king in Persia. . . . Says Darius the king: After that I sent forth the Persian and Median army which was with me. A Persian named Artavardiya, my servant, him I made chief of them. The other (part of the) Persian army went with me to Media. Then Artavardiya with the army went to Persia. When he arrived in Persia, (there is) a town named Rakhâ, in Persia, here this Vahyazdâta who called himself Bardiya went with (his) army against Artavardiya to give battle. Then they gave battle. Auramazda brought me aid. According to the will of Auramazda my army smote utterly that army of Vahyazdâta. Twelve days in the month Thûravâhara[1] were completing their course, then the battle (was) fought by them. . . . Says Darius the king: After that Vahyazdâta with a few horsemen fled (and) went to Paishiyâuvâdâ. From thence he again took his army against Artavardiya to give battle. (There is) a mountain named Parga, here they engaged in battle. Auramazda brought me aid. According to the will of Auramazda my army smote utterly that army of Vahyazdâta. Five days in the month Gar-

[1]Cf. Sect. on Pers. Months.

mapada[1] were completing their course, then the battle was fought by them and that Vahyazdâta they seized, and the men who were his chief associates, they seized. Says Darius the king: After that, (there is) a town in Persia named Uvâdaicaya, here that Vahyazdâta and what men were his chief associates I put on the cross."[2]

ARACHOSIA

Some time before this Vahyazdâta had sent an army to Arachosia against the satrap Vivâna. An engagement took place near a fortress named Kâpishakani; and again in the region of Gandumava.[3] Vivâna was completely victorious, and the leader of Vahyazdâta's army was finally captured and slain with his chief associates at Arshâdâ. The records of the Achæmenidan relate this rebellion as follows: "Says Darius the king: That Vahyazdâta, who called himself Bardiya, he sent forth an army to Arachosia, a Persian named Vivâna, my servant, satrap in Arachosia, against him (he sent an army); one man he had made chief of them (and) spoke to them thus: Go forth, smite Vivâna and that army which calls itself of Darius the king. After that this army, which Vahyazdâta had sent forth, went against Vivâna to give battle. (There is) a fortress named Kâpishakâni, here they gave battle. Auramazda brought me

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[1]Cf. Sect. Pers. Months.

[2]Beh. III. 5-8.

[3]Weissbach reads: Gandutaua, Keilinschr. der Achæm., p. 53. Tolman, Gandutava, Anc. Pers. Lex., p. 86; Justi and Hoffmann-Kutschke, Gandumaua; likewise also Prašek Gesch. der Med und Pers. II, p. 37.

aid. According to the will of Auramazda my army smote utterly that rebellious army. Thirteen days in the month Anâmaka[1] were completing their course, then the battle was fought by them. . . . . Says Darius the king: Again the rebels assembled (and) went against Vivâna to give battle. (There is) a region named Gandumava. Here they gave battle. Auramazda brought me aid. According to the will of Auramazda my army smote utterly that rebellious army. Seven days in the month Viyakhna[1] were completing their course, then the battle was fought by them. . . . . Says Darius the king: After that this man, who was chief of that army which Vahyazdâta sent against Vivâna, he fled with a few horsemen (and) went away. (There is) a fortress named Arshâdâ in Arachosia—he went thereby. After that Vivâna went with the army in pursuit of them. There he seized him and what men were his chief associates, he slew. . . . Says Darius the king: After that the country became mine. . . . This (is) what (was) done by me in Arachosia."[2]

INDIA

Closely connected with the rebellion of Vahyazdâta was the conquest of India. Herodotus reports that the conquered Indians dwelt around Caspatyrum, and the country of Pactyica in a northerly direction from the other Indians, and that they were compelled to bring tribute.[3] In Darius Persepolis e., however, India is listed between Arachosia and Gandara. It

[1]Cf. Sect. on Pers. Months.
[2]Beh. III, 10–13.
[3]Hdt. III, 98.

is probable, therefore, as Prašek points out, that the India in question was situated in the Kabul valley and vicinity. The conquest of India possibly falls between the years 518-510 B.C. India does not occur in the list of countries as recorded on the Behistan mountain, but appears later as Hinduš in Darius Persepolis e. between Arachosia and Gandara, while in Dar. NR. a. it is listed between Gandara and the Amyrgian Scythians. The conquest of India, therefore, cannot have been accomplished in the beginning of the reign of Darius. It is likely, however, that it took place before the Scythian expedition.[1]

JUDEA

Events had progressed to the entire satisfaction of the Jews. Cyrus had given them the privilege to return and to rebuild both their capital and the famous temple. A certain degree of national self-consciousness and independence had developed.[2] These developments, however, had not escaped the attention of Vištanna,[3] satrap of the land "beyond the river," to which Judea belonged. He believed them to be fraught with dangers for the Persian empire, and therefore ordered a cessation of the building activities at Jerusalem. The Jews, however, appealed their case to the king, basing their argument upon the decree of Cyrus. Darius at once ordered that the state archives be searched for a record of these decrees. When the contention of the Jews was

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[1]Prašek, Gesch. der Med. und Pers. II, pp. 37, 38 and note.

[2]Haggai ii, Zechariah vi, 9–14, etc.

[3]Cf. Prašek, Gesch. der Med. und Pers. II, pp. 39, 40, and Haggai i, 14; ii, 2.

found to be corroborated by documents in the royal library, the king issued a new decree for a resumption of the building activities, and this decree also ordered the enemies of the Jews to assist in the work which they had attempted to prevent.[1] But prudence prompted him to reëstablish the order of the priesthood, that the nation might be ruled by this and might not through the influence of some individual develop the nationalistic movement and endanger the empire. Through the priesthood he hoped to repress all nationalistic aspirations.

EGYPT

Egypt did not revolt openly, but during all the troubles described before, Aryandes, the satrap of this country, had assumed an arrogant attitude.[2] He even dared to defy the king and to refuse him aid requested against the rebellious provinces. The subjects under him he ruled with an iron hand, and not seldom proved himself cruel and oppressive. A revolution took place in the Greek city of Barce. The citizens had murdered their king, and Pheretime, mother of the ill-fated ruler, called upon Aryandes for assistance in the ensuing struggle.[3] His army was beaten and forced to retire.[4] But finally the city was taken by stratagem.[5] His general Amasis attempted also to seize Cyrene, yet failed completely. According to Herodotus Aryandes withdrew his

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[1]Ezra v, vi.
[2]Hdt. IV, 166 fg.
[3]Hdt. IV, 165.
[4]Hdt. IV, 200, 201.
[5]Hdt. IV, 202.

forces of his own accord, without indicating a reason. Wiedemann has expressed the belief that at this time, 518 B.C., Darius was already in Egypt; and furthermore that Aryandes blamed Amasis for his failure to take Cyrene. Besides Amasis a certain Bardes also took part in the expedition. Since these were retained by Darius after the disposition of Aryandes, it seems probable that they were disloyal to the satrap, and when opportunity presented itself accused him of many crimes before the king.[1] Aryandes was finally executed and, as in Judea, the priests were given a large share in the government. The high priest of Sais was made one of the chief officials. Here, as elsewhere, Darius pursued a policy of tolerance. The religion and customs of the Egyptians he respected highly. He erected temples in honor of their gods, and, according to decrees issued by him, the national gods were to be forever revered. It is evident that through such measures he did more to pacify the nation than could have been accomplished through force of arms. Prominent natives were appointed to the high offices and the people given many considerations. Prašek is of the opinion that Darius was in Egypt in 518, others setting the date as 517 B.C.[2]

SARDIS

About the same time Oroetes, governor of Sardis, endeavored to establish an independent kingdom in the territory under his administration. He surrounded himself with a bodyguard of a thousand

[1]Wiedemann Gesch. Aeg. seit Psammetich, p. 237 fg.
[2]Prašek, Gesch. der Med. und Pers. II, pp. 42, 43.

picked Persian lancers and openly defied Darius. In vain did the king attempt to recall him, and even the messenger conveying the decree was killed. Oroetes, counting upon the loyalty of his troops, believed himself to be master of the situation. Darius, however, sent a certain Bagaius to investigate and examine the conditions and if possible bring about the downfall of the rebel. Mingling freely with the guardsmen, he praised Darius and accused Oroetes of various offenses. When in this manner the confidence of the guardsmen in their leader had been shaken, he was killed by those upon whom he had depended.[1]

NEW SUSIAN REBELLION

Encouraged by the second Babylonian uprising, the Susians again showed signs of unrest. Thoroughly detesting the new order of things, they rallied once more and organized a revolt. Atamaita[2] led them in this new enterprise. The royal troops under Gobryas, as before, defeated the rebels, and their leader paid with his life for his attempts to become king. The account of Darius reads: "Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did. . . . (there is) a province, [named] Susiana, this became estranged from me. [One man] named Atamaita[2] a Susian, him they made chief. After that I sent (my) army to Susiana. [One man] named Gobryas [a Persian], my servant, [him] I made chief [of them]. After that this Gobryas with an army went to Susiana. He gave [bat-

[1] Hdt. III, 126 fg.

[2] . . . mamaita, mutilated. Huesing's reading, Atamaita, is here followed.

tle] to the Susians. After that Gobryas defeated . . . and exterminated them; their chief he captured, led him to me; I slew him. After that the country [became mine]."[1]

It was only now that the Persian king could consider the whole empire between the Nile and Propontis, between the Indus and the Iaxartes, as completely subjected to him. In the beginning of his reign he personally fought nineteen pitched battles, and he records the names of thirty countries over which he had become king. In his own words he sums up his accomplishments of this period as follows: "Says Darius the king: This (is) what I did: . . . After that I became king, I engaged in 19 battles; according to the will of Auramazda I waged them[2] and I seized 9 kings. There was one named Gaumâta, a Magian; he lied; thus he said: I am Bardiya the son of Cyrus; he made Persia rebellious; (there was) one, named Âthrina, a Susian; he lied; thus he said: I am king in Susiana; he made Susiana rebellious to me; (there was) one named Nadintubaira, a Babylonian; he lied; thus he said: I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabunaid; he made Babylon rebellious; (there was) one named Martiya, a Persian; he lied; thus he said: I am Imanish, king in Susiana; he made Susiana rebellious; (there was) one named Phraortes, a Mede; he lied; thus he said:

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[1]Beh. V, 1.

[2]Weissbach would refer the pronoun to the enemies and read adamšiš: "ich schlug sie," Keilinschr. der Achæm., p. 57; Tolman, on the contrary, to the battles, reading, 'I waged them.' The rendering here follows Tolman. See Anc. Pers. Lex. p. 25.

I am Khshathrita, of the family of Cyaxares; he made Media rebellious; (there was) one named Cithrantakhma, in Sagartia; he lied; thus he said: I am king in Sagartia, of the family of Cyaxares; he made Sagartia rebellious; (there was) one named Frâda, a Margian; he lied; thus he said: I am king in Margiana; he made Margiana rebellious; (there was) one Vahyazdâta by name, a Persian, he lied, thus he said: I am Bardiya, son of Cyrus; he made Persia rebellious; (there was) one named Arkha, an Armenian; he lied; thus he said: I am Nebuchadrezzar, the son of Nabunaid; he made Babylon rebellious. Says Darius the king: These 9 kings I seized in these battles. Says Darius the king: These (are) the provinces which qecame rebellious; *Drauga,*[1] 'the Lie,' made them rebellious so that these deceived the people; after that Auramazda gave them into my hand; as was my will, so [I did] unto them."

Then adding a warning to his possible successors, he continues: "O thou who shalt be king in the future, protect thyself strongly from *Drauga.* Whatever man shall be a deceiver, him well punished punish, if thus thou shalt think 'may my country be secure.'"[2]

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[1]The Persian had a deep regard for truth. "Drauga," lie, deceit, is the embodiment of all evil, and especially in this case it is given as the source of rebellion. It is because Darius was not under the influence of Drauga that Auramazda was favorably inclined to him. (Beh. IV, 13.) He further warns his successors against Drauga and admonishes to punish such as deal with it. (Beh. IV, 5. Cf. Tolman: Anc. Pers. Lex., p. 103; Bang, ZDMG. 43, 533; Jackson-Gray, JAOS. 21, 170.)

[2]Beh. IV, 2–5.

B. Dawn of a New Civilization

1. The Satrapies

As soon as Darius had firmly established his authority over the newly restored empire, he at once began the work of reorganization and the introduction of many and various reforms. Under Cyrus the Persians had been showered with special privileges while the subjugated nations were made to bear the burdens of the king's extravagances. The favorites developed into a kind of oligarchy. Darius realized this mistake, and with a statesmanlike vision decided to place all nationalities on an equal footing. Their individualities were given due consideration and their customs and traditions respected. The country was originally divided into twenty districts for the purpose of taxation.[1] To these three others were added later. Cyrus had already made a beginning with the establishment of the satrapies; for when Darius ascended the throne, there was a Dâdarshi, "xšathrapāvā" in Bactria,[2] and Vivâna had the same title in Arachosia.[3] Territorially each satrapy covered a large area, with three officials presiding over each. The satrap proper had entire charge over the civil administration; the military commander was responsible to the king only; and it devolved upon the secretary to keep the king informed of the actions of the other two. The orders of the satrap and his military attaché were first to be viséed by the secretary before becoming valid. Thus

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[1]Hdt. III, 89.
[2]Beh. III, 3.
[3]Beh. III, 10.

the king established a balance of power under complete control of himself. Special inspectors were sent by the king from time to time, and not seldom did he appear in person at different places unexpectedly. These satraps were selected with the greatest care, and a special school existed at court where preferably Persian noblemen were trained for this high office. If a satrap happened to be related to the royal house, he possessed a greater degree of power than others.[1] Gradually, however, the satraps encroached upon the functions of their two colleagues, and as time passed their authority became absolute. Their responsibility was great at all times; their task consisted in guarding the interests of the empire and at the same time promoting the welfare of the subject people. The king showed no patience with any one who failed to accomplish this double object. To the principle of justice he attributed his success against his enemies. He himself says: "For this reason Auramazda brought me aid, and the other gods which exist, because I was not inimical, nor lying, nor violent, neither I nor my family. According to rectitude [I ruled]. Nor against the slave[2] nor the lowly[2] did I exercise oppression. The man who helped my house, him well esteemed I esteemed; (the man) who would harm, him well punished, I pun-

[1]Prašek, Gesch. der Med. und Pers. II, 47 fg.

[2]The two words "šakaurim" . . . "tunuvatam" are capable of different renderings. Tolman, with much probability, has given them as "slave" and "lowly," (Anc. Pers. Lex., p. 27, also 93, 129;) King and Thompson "prisoner "and "freed man;" Hoffman-Kutschke "Knecht" and "Herr;" Weissbach "waise" and "armen," (Weissbach, Keilinschr. der Achæm., p. 67.)

ished."[1] These were indeed new principles, for up to this date whatever pleased the fancy of a ruler and his coregents, whether just and honorable or flagrantly criminal, was regarded as good and laudable; the maxim had been fully accepted, "The king can do no wrong." Herodotus expressly relates that the king established twenty administration and taxation districts called satrapies.[2] The view held by Dieulafoy,[3] and Buchholtz,[4] that the satrapy and the taxation district are distinct from each other does not seem correct, since Herodotus combines the two ideas in the one designation, and the inscriptions do not furnish any definite information regarding this point.

2. Taxation

Darius introduced a new system of taxation. Up to his time there were no specific tributes; but voluntary presents and booty furnished the incomes needed.[2] On account of the introduction of the new system, the Persians are said to have called Darius a huckster, Cambyses a tyrant, and Cyrus a father.[2] According to the records of Herodotus the taxes were levied as follows: The first district was composed of the Ionians and Magnesians of Asia, the Aeolians, Carians, Lycians, Melyeans, and Pamphylians, and they jointly paid a tribute of four hundred talents in silver. The second paid five hundred

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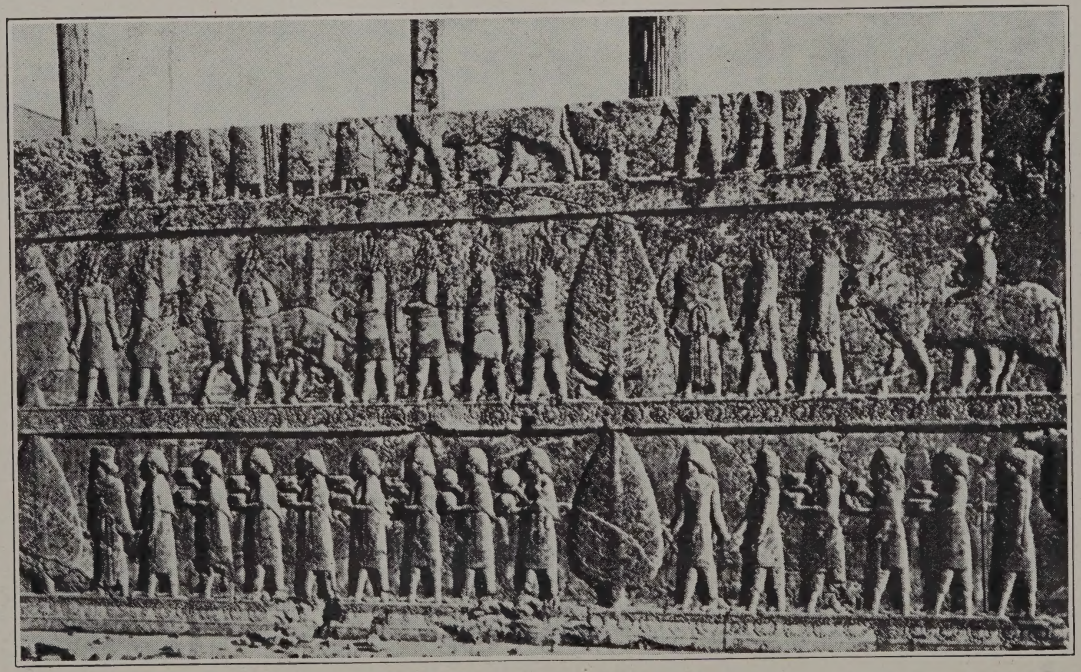
[1]Beh. IV, 13.

[2]Hdt. III, 89.

[3]Acropole de Suse, 13 fg.

[4]Quaestiones de Persarum satrapis satrapiisque, Leipz. Diss. 1895, 49 fg.



SUBJECT NATIONS BRINGING TRIBUTE
FRIEZE FROM THE PALACE OF XERXES AT PERSEPOLIS

talents, and was composed of the Mysians, Lydians, Alysonians, Cabalians, and Hygennians. A tribute of three hundred and sixty talents was paid by those inhabiting the right side of the Hellespont, by the Phrygians and Thracians of Asia, by the Paphlagonians, Mariandynians, and Syrians, and these nations constituted the third satrapy. The Cicilians were obliged to furnish three hundred and sixty white horses annually and five hundred talents of silver. These formed the fourth satrapy. The fifth satrapy included the country between Cilicia and Egypt, along with Phœnicia, Syrian Palestine, and the island of Cyprus, and paid three hundred and fifty talents. Seven hundred talents were exacted from the Egyptian district, besides one hundred and twenty thousand measures of grain for the maintenance of the Persian soldiers stationed at Memphis; this was the sixth satrapy. The seventh was composed of the Sattagydæ (Anc. Pers. thatagu), the Gandarii (Anc. Pers. gandāra), the Dadicæ, and the Aparytæ who paid one hundred and seventy talents. The eighth satrapy furnished three hundred talents, and consisted of Susa (Anc. Pers. uvaja) and the rest of the Cissians. Babylon and the other parts of Assyria constituted the ninth satrapy, and paid a thousand talents of silver and furnished five hundred young eunuchs. The tenth satrapy paid four hundred and fifty talents, and consisted of Ecbatana, the rest of Media, the Parycanii, and the Orthocorybantes (Anc. Pers. tigraxaudâ). The Caspians, the Pausicæ, the Pantimathi, and the Daritæ, contributed among them two hundred talents and formed the eleventh satrapy. The twelfth produced three hun-

dred and sixty talents, and was composed of the whole country from the Bactrians to Aeglæ. From the thirteenth satrapy four hundred talents were levied; this comprehended Pactyica, the Armenians, with the contiguous nations as far as the Euxine. The fourteenth satrapy consisted of the Sagartians, the Sarangæans (Anc. Pers. zrañka), the Thamanæans, Utians, and Mycians, with those who inhabited the islands of the Red Sea, where the king sent those whom he banished; these jointly contributed six hundred talents. The Sacæ and Caspeirians formed the fifteenth satrapy, and provided two hundred and fifty talents. Three hundred talents were levied from the Parthians, Chorasmians (Anc. Pers. uvarazmi), Sogdians (Anc. Pers. suguda), and Areians, who were the sixteenth satrapy. The Paricanians and Ethiopians of Asia paid four hundred talents, and formed the seventeenth satrapy. The eighteenth was taxed at two hundred talents, and was composed of the Matienians, the Saspires, and the Alarodians. The Moschians, Tibarenians, Macrones, Mosynoecians, and Mardians provided three hundred talents, and were the nineteenth satrapy. The Indians (Anc. Pers. hindu), the most populous nation, were proportionately taxed; they formed the twentieth satrapy, and furnished six hundred talents in gold ingots. . . . The whole, it is estimated, brought to Darius an annual tribute of fourteen thousand five hundred and sixty Euboic talents, omitting many trifling sums not deserving mention.[1] Besides these tribute-bearing satrapies there were also districts whose inhabitants

[1]Hdt. III, 89–95.

annually delivered presents to the king.[1] Darius himself likewise furnished a record of the peoples who brought him tribute. This record does not differ essentially from that of the Greek writer and is found in Dar. Pers. e. and Dar. NR. a. In Dar. Pers. e. he states: "Says Darius the king: According to the will of Auramazda these (are) the countries which I have subjugated with the aid of the Persian army, which feared me (and) brought me tribute: Susiana, Media, Babylonia, Arabia, Assyria, Egypt, Armenia, Cappadocia, Sparda, the Ionians who (are) of the mainland and those who (are) on the sea, and the countries which (are) on the east; Sagartia, Parthia, Drangiana, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Sattagydia, Arachosia, India, Gandara, Scythia and the Macæ." In Dar. NR. a. the record is this: "Says Darius the king; according to the will of Auramazda these (are) the countries which I seized afar from Persia, I ruled them. They brought me tribute. What was commanded to them by me, [this] they did. The law which (is) mine, that was established for them: Media, Susiana, Parthia, Aria, Bactria, Sogdiana, Chorasmia, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, Gandara, India, the Amyrgian Scythians,[2] the pointed-capped Scythians,[3] Babylonia, Assyria, Arabia, Egypt, [Armenia], Cappadocia,

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[1]Hdt. III, 97.

[2]Haumavarkā, possibly alluding to the use of leaves (YAv. varka) in making the drink called in Sanskrit soma, YAv. haoma. Reading somewhat doubtful. Cf. Tolman, Anc. Pers. Lex, p. 131; Hdt. VII, 64.

[3]Tigraxaudā with pointed cap, referring to the headdress of this class of Scythians.

Sparda, Ionia, the Scythians beyond the sea, the shelter-bearing Ionians,[1] the Puntians,[2] Kushians,[2] Maxyes,[2] Karkians."[2] By comparison it will appear that there are two countries in the list in Dar. Pers. e. which do not occur in Dar. NR. a., namely Sagartia and the Macæ; while there are five names in Dar. NR. a. which are not given in Dar. Pers. e., namely: the Puntians, Kushians, Maxyes, Karkians, and Skudra.

However well the epithet "huckster"[3] may have been applied to Darius, the fact remains that the financial affairs of the empire were placed upon a reliable basis and proved to be in a splendid condition.

4. Highways

Indescribable were the difficulties which impeded traffic and transportation in those days. In order to facilitate trade and the movement of troops the

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[1]The word "taka" is of doubtful meaning. Weissbach assumes because the Bab. text adds "upon their heads" that some adornment in the form of a shield on the head is meant. (Keilinschr. p. 88). Tolman first suggested "riding" or "seafaring." (Anc Pers. Lex., p. 91). But in a later discussion of the subject he with much probability points out that "taka" might refer to a close defensive array of the Greek phalanx, which the Babylonian version paraphrases as "shield borne on the head." . . . To the Oriental the compact, defensive armor of Ionian troops would be a marked feature, and it would not be surprising if the epithet "takabara" had reference to this rather than to any mode of dress. In that case the word would signify "shelter-bearing." For detailed discussion, see PAPA., Vol. XLIV, 1913.

[2]Cf. Prašek, Gesch. der Med. und Pers. II, 74.

[3]Hdt. III, 89.

king improved the old roads and built new ones. Although the inscriptions do not expressly refer to this subject, it may be noted in passing that such highways were routed from Babylon to Media, Babylon-Nineveh-Karkemiš-Egypt; and especially famous was the "royal road" from Susa to Sardis and Ephesus.[1] Along these roads were numerous stations (στάθμοι) with caravansaries. Mounted couriers were kept in readiness day and night to carry despatches from one stathmos to the next in turn with all possible speed. Herodotus admiringly remarks: "The Persian messengers travel with a speed which nothing human can equal."[2] The messenger traveled thus safely and speedily, and the merchant as well as the trooper found the task of reaching his destination greatly simplified. By this simple means the first postal service of which there is any record was operated with surprising rapidity.

C. The Persian in Europe

1. *Darius and the Greeks*

The monuments furnish but scant information regarding the Greeks. They simply listed them as the Ionians who brought tribute to the king.[3] As has been indicated above, the Greek coast cities of Asia Minor had come under Persian dominion during the reign of Cyrus.[4] These cities harbored thrifty merchants who extended their trade to the coasts of northern Africa, as well as to Asia Minor. Their ships

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[1]For further references see Hdt. V, 52.

[2]Cf. Hdt. VIII, 98.

[3]Dar. Pers. e., 2.; Dar. NR. a. 3; Cf. also Sect. on Satrapies.

[4]Cf. Sect. on Cyrus.

brought back wares and treasures which filled their cities with riches. Such of the Greeks as had a taste for soldiery made excellent warriors, and large numbers of them were found in the service of Persia,[1] mercenaries indeed, yet good troopers. During the last years of Darius various revolts broke out. In attempting to subjugate Greece proper at Marathon, in 490 B.C., he met possibly the most ignominious defeat of his life. Though the Asiatic Greeks were forced to assist the Persians in their campaign against Scythia, the records fail to reveal that they furnished any considerable aid. The expansion toward the west produced graver difficulties for the easterner than did any other section of the empire. Not infrequently did the associations formed become a peril to the state, as the times of the later kings clearly demonstrate.

2. The European Expedition

The testimony of the inscriptions regarding the Scythian campaign is but meager and incomplete.[2] Scythian hordes had repeatedly invaded Asia, and probably during the time of Darius the northwestern regions of Persia. About 511-510 B.C., Darius began to make extensive preparation for an expedition into Scythia. The reports of Herodotus[3] and Ctesias[3] speak of 70,000 warriors mobilized and equipped for this campaign; 600 Ionian vessels were to assist the army. The army halted on the Bosporus near Chalcedon, where the Samian architect

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[1]Xenophon's Anab.
[2]Beh. V, 4.
[3]Hdt. IV, 84; Ctesias Frag. Gilm, 30.

Mandrocles constructed a bridge across the narrow straits. The Persians then crossed and advanced in a northerly direction through Thrace, and as they journeyed, subdued several tribes along the way. On the sources of the river Tearus a column was erected with a Persian, or as the Greeks called it, Assyrian inscription. This monument of Persian power on European soil, according to Herodotus, carried this message: "Darius arriving at the Tearus, there fixed his camp. He was so delighted with this river that he caused a column to be erected on the spot with this inscription: 'The sources of the Tearus afford the best and clearest waters in the world:' in prosecuting an expedition against Scythia, Darius, son of Hystaspes, the best and most amiable of men, king of Persia and of all the continent, arrived here with his forces."[1] The Ionian fleet had been instructed to pass through the straits into the Black Sea, and they reached the mouth of the Ister, where a bridge was built for the army to cross the stream. Arriving, then, on the other bank of the river, the Persians found themselves in Scythia proper, and proceeded with their campaign. According to Herodotus they went far north into the interior of the land. It is to be noted, however, that there exist two reports from this same author. The first[2] is very extensive and gives many peculiar details which Prašek[3] and others have relegated to the realm of legend.

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[1]Hdt. IV, 91. Cf. JRAS. XXIV, 45; Prašek, Gesch. der Med. und Pers. II, 91.

[2]Hdt. IV, 1–135.

[3]Prašek, Gesch der Med. und Pers. II, 94 fg.

The second report, which is much shorter, contains more historical truth. According to this record the Scythians sent their cavalry against the Persians, while the women and children had been transported in advance to the vast midnight regions. When the armies met, the Scythians, without giving battle, withdrew, constantly destroying and laying waste everything behind them, a method of warfare the Russians have frequently followed, whether against the Tartars, Poles, and Turks in ancient days, or against Napoleon in later times.

In consequence of such tactics the army of Darius was compelled to travel through a continuous desert constantly confronted by danger from lack of water and scarcity of supplies. The army suffered enormous losses. The gain of this whole expedition was practically insignificant. The farther the king advanced, the farther he separated himself from his base of supply and the greater became the difficulties that loomed before him in the devastated and inhospitable regions.

From the king's own words it would appear that he captured and slew some of his enemies, among them a leader named Skunkha. In spite of its numerous lacunæ there is legible enough of the inscription to convince us that the king is claiming much that is unwarranted. It reads as follows: "Says Darius the king: With the army I went to Scythia; to Scythia. . . . the Tigris. . . . unto the sea. . . . I crossed in rafts; the Scythians I smote; one part I seized; [they were led] bound to me and [I slew] them. . . . named Skunkha; him I

seized. . . . there another I made chief as was my will; after that the country became mine. Says Darius the king: . . . not Auramazda. . . . I gave thanks to Auramazda; by the will of Auramazda [as was] my [wish thus] I did unto them. Says [Darius the king: Whoever] unto Auramazda shall give worship [as long as his family shall be]. . . . and of life and. . . ."[1] How far into Scythia did the Persians really advance? Grote[2] sums up the situation with these words: "The narrative of Herodotus in regard to the Persian march north of the Ister seems indeed destitute of all the conditions of reality." Rawlinson, likewise, is of the opinion that this march did not extend very far into Scythia. In the "Five Monarchies"[3] he writes: "It is certainly astonishing that he should have ventured far inland, and still more surprising that he should have returned with an army well-nigh intact." Dunker, in the "Geschichte des Altertums"[4] thinks the report of Herodotus correct as far as it concerns itself with the march of the eastern army to the banks of the Danube. "As soon as this stream is crossed," he adds, "everything becomes legendary and misty." Comte de Gobineau, in the "Histoire des Perses,"[5] accepts the lengthy narrative of the Greek writer with very few modifications. However, it would hardly seem possible for a huge army like the Persian to have returned

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[1]Beh.. V, 4–6.
[2]History of Greece IV, 265.
[3]III, 433 fg.
[4]History of Greece, IV, 504.
[5]II, 102.

within the few weeks allotted if they had proceeded far into the interior.

The plan to conquer the Scythians, though a temporary failure, was not given up entirely. When the Persians had returned, the king sent another large army to reconquer those lands of the Scythians south of the Ister. Megabyzus proceeded with a host of 80,000 warriors to these regions. Such a large army became necessary since the Scythians, encouraged by the misfortune of their enemies, had been emboldened to new and daring invasions.[1] Furthermore, some Greek cities, believing that the hour of liberty was at hand, raised the flag of rebellion. Among these were such influential cities as Byzantium and Chalcedon.[2] But the attempt was frustrated by Otanes, who established a new satrapy in these regions under Histiæus, who was made guardian of the empire's western borders.[3] The aged king Amyntas I, of Macedonia, overawed by the forces of the invaders, became a vassal of the Persians. When Macedonia had capitulated and the new province had been established on sure foundations from the Persian point of view, the king began to make extensive preparations for an expedition against Greece proper. But he did not live to see the accomplishment of his elaborate plans.

D. The Achæmenidan in Egypt

"From Persia I seized Egypt. I ordered to dig this canal from the stream named Nile, which flows

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[1]Hdt. VI, 40.
[2]Hdt. V, 26.
[3]Hdt. V, 23 fg.

in Egypt, to the sea, which goes from Persia. Then this canal [was dug], and [ships] passed from Egypt through this canal to Persia as was my [will]." [1]

It is with these words that Darius introduces Egypt, and briefly tells of his deeds there. Since the early days of its history the country had given great homage to the priesthood, which had always been a most influential institution, and in many ways had helped to make the times of the Pharaohs renowned and the country blessed with their arts and sciences.

Darius recognized the institution and greatly respected the national tradition and feeling. Desirous of perpetuating his glory at places of importance and sacredness, he decided to erect his own monument at the Ptah Temple at Memphis before that of Rameses Sesostris II. The priesthood lodged a violent protest on the ground that only upon the equals of their great king might such honor be bestowed; Darius, with his usual wisdom and tact, yielded to their wishes.[2] Egyptian architects were intrusted with the task of erecting the royal buildings at Persepolis. In Egypt likewise he built several noteworthy edifices; for instance, at Memphis [3] and in the oasis El Chardže. In the latter place he began the erection of a wonderful temple in honor of the Egyptian god Ammon. Darius II continued the work of his great namesake, and the Egyptian king Nektanebus II considered the completion of the work an honor to the

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[1]Sz. c. 3.
[2]Hdt. II, 110.
[3]Wiedemann, Aeg. Gesch., 679.

gods. Ruins of this famous temple with the consecration inscription are to be seen to this day.[1] It is not surprising, therefore, that especially the priesthood should be kindly disposed toward the well-meaning and considerate foreigner.

A remarkable undertaking was commenced in the building of the canal from the Nile river to the Red Sea in order to establish a waterway between the rich storehouses of Egypt and Persia. The interesting record quoted above referring to the seizure of Egypt and the building of the canal was found written on a stele near Shalûf et-Terrâbeh on the Suez Canal.[2] The statement that the canal was completed and that ships actually passed through has been challenged. By some it is believed that the task was never completed, meeting with opposition from the Egyptians, who feared that the higher waters of the Red Sea might overflow the country.[3] If the plan of Darius was frustrated by the inhabitants, this much, however, remains an absolute certainty, that the work had progressed considerably before it was abandoned, for the direction of the course which the canal had taken may be observed even at the present time.

The laws decreed for Egypt were well received by the people, because they were just and wise; the province for the most part was well governed and its affairs administered in accordance with the tolerant policy of the Persian. And for this reason the grateful priesthood placed his name in their national his-

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[1]Brugsch, Gesch. Aeg. nach den Denkmaelern, 755.
[2]Inscription of Suez, a, b, c.
[3]Prašek, Gesch. der Med. und Pers. II, 111.

tory with that of the most renowned Pharaohs and heroes of the land, honoring him with the name Setturia. Yet, in spite of all this, dissatisfaction began to spring up now in some quarters, now in others, and this condition of political unrest compelled him to station a large army in Egypt. It was distributed in three fortresses: in Daphnæ and Marea on the borders opposite Syria and in Elephantine in the direction of Ethiopia. A strong garrison was also placed at the instant disposal of the satrap in Memphis.[1] Toward the last days of the king smoldering fires of discontent had been slowly increasing and, beginning with 487 B.C., these leaped forth into rapidly spreading flames of open revolution, the extinction of which Darius did not live to see.

E. The Borders of the Empire

The dominion over which Darius ruled was indeed a world empire. It was bounded in the north by the river Sir, the Aral Sea, the Caspian Sea, the mountains of the Caucasus, the Black Sea, and the Danube; in the east by the Indus, the limits of the Punjab, and the eastern parts of Turkestan; in the south by the Libyan desert, Nubia, the Red Sea, the desert of Arabia, the Persian Gulf, and the Arabian Sea; in the west by what is now Bulgaria, Roumelia, and by the Ægean, and the Mediterranean Seas.

F. The Religion of Darius

The religion of the Aryans was simple and natural. It was upon the elemental principles fire and earth that Spitama Zarathuštra or Zoroaster established

[1]Hdt. III, 91.

his system. The much debated question whether Darius adhered to the Zoroastrian faith may now with much probability be answered in the affirmative. H. C. Tolman, through a comparison of a portion of the lower inscription on the grave of Darius at Nakš-i-Rustam[1] with the phraseology of the Avesta,[2] calls attention to the similarity of expression. Because of this parallel he concludes: "The mooted question as to the religion of the Achæmenidan kings I regard as now settled. Darius was a Zoroastrian and in almost scriptural terms bears witness to the fact on his sepulcher."[3] The later kings followed the lead of Darius. It is probable that the Magi, who came to worship Christ, were also Zoroastrians.

Their deity, Baga Mazda, appears in the Achæmenidan inscriptions as Auramazda, and in the Avesta as Ahura Mazda.[4]

Our knowledge of the sacred book of Zoroastrianism, the Avesta, had its beginning with the work of a young French scholar, Anquetil du Perron. He happened to see a copy of the manuscript in the library at Oxford, which had been kept there as a curiosity, since no one was able to read it. In 1754 he undertook a journey to the East in order to learn more

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[1]NR. b.

[2]YAv., 62, 4.

[3]AJP., 31.

[4]Baga Mazda, composed of "baga," god, and "mazdah," all-knowing. Auramazda, composed of "aura," god, and "mazdah," all-knowing. It is apparent that though the forms differ slightly, the meaning of the terms applied to "the highest god" is the same—namely, "the all-knowing lord god." Cf. Tiele-Gehrich, Geschichte der Religion des Altertums, II, 44.

about this sacred book. After encountering almost insurmountable obstacles, he was successfully admitted into the mysteries before him and made the first translation known in Europe. The authorship of the Avesta is by tradition ascribed to Zoroaster. As to the date of the prophet there exists a vast difference of opinion between the classical Persian writers and modern scholars. The former give the date as 6000 B.C., the latter about 660 B.C. The different views have been astutely reconciled by pointing out that the followers of the great prophet had in mind the spiritual existence supposed to have begun at the earlier date while his physical existence commenced with the later date.[1] Very few items of information on his personality have come down to later ages, while tradition has surrounded him with endless myths. He came into prominence by opposing the superstitious beliefs of his day and urging the acceptance of a new doctrine. According to tradition he was led into the wilderness by the evil spirit to be tempted, and when his faith had stood the test of trial he, filled with visions received from his god, made this revelation the basis for the new cult. His first convert is said to have been his cousin. He did not gain many followers, however, until Hystaspes, king in Bactria, became his disciple. This Hystaspes is identified by some as the father of Darius I, but there seems to be little ground for such identification.[2] It was after the winning over of this king to his faith, that his teaching extended over all Iran.

[1]Cf. Hoffman, Sphere of Religion, p. 95.

[2]A. V. W. Jackson, The Date of Zoroaster, JAOS XVII, 17; West, SBE. XLVII, 38.

A. V. W. Jackson gives as the scene of his activity the kingdom of Bactria. His statement is as follows: "Born, as I believe, in Atropatene, to the west of Media, this prophet, without honor in his own country, met with a congenial soil for the seeds of his teachings in eastern Iran. His ringing voice of reform and of a nobler faith found an answering echo in the heart of the Bactrian king Hystaspes, whose strong arm gave the necessary support to the crusade that spread the new faith west and east throughout the land of Iran. Allusions to this crusade are not uncommon in Zoroastrian literature. Its advance must have been rapid. A fierce religious war, which in a way was fatal to Bactria, ensued with Turan. This was that same savage race in history at whose door the death of victorious Cyrus is laid. Although tradition tells the sad story that the fire of the sacred altar was quenched in the blood of the priests when Turan stormed Balkh, this momentary defeat was but the gathering force of victory; triumph was at hand. The spiritual spark of regeneration lingered among the embers and was destined soon to burst forth into the flame of Persian power that swept over decaying Media, and formed the beacon torch that lighted up the land of Iran in early history."[1] The revelations which Zoroaster claimed to have received from his god word for word, in the form of conversations, were orally preserved by his disciples and handed down to later generations just as were the Vedas, the Talmud, the Koran, and the Gospels. The word Zoroaster, or Zarathuštra, in connection with the authorship of the Avesta, is now regarded as having been applied to

[1] A. V. W. Jackson, The Prophet of Ancient Iran, p. 177.

a school of priests of which Zoroaster was the founder, and later the name became the official designation for the members of that school. Some parts of the Avesta date back perhaps more than a thousand years B.C., others were added centuries later, and again others are not much older than the beginning of Christianity. The original was a very voluminous collection and not unlike the Bible of the West. The priests wore garments made of camels' hair and sacrificed on fire altars, two of which may still be observed at Nakš-i-Rustam. The historic importance of Zoroastrianism is apparent as regards not only the religion of Darius, but also the relationship between Zoroastrianism and various other religious systems. F. S. Hoffman goes so far as to remark: "Both Judaism and Christianity have been immensely affected by Zoroastrian thought. Their doctrine of angels and devils and the idea that good and evil are equal and permanent adversaries are probably derived from this source. But apart from this, the Persian religion has undoubtedly contributed more than any other so-called heathen religion to acquaint the world with the great thought that the kingdom of God is a kingdom of righteousness and that it is the duty of every human being to work for its establishment here and now."[1] Doubtless this relationship was reciprocal.

The flames of the sacred fires have never been completely extinguished; the faith of Zoroaster still continues to live. The Zoroastrian system of a dualistic religious conception has done much to lift the moral-

[1]Hoffman, Sphere of Religion, p. 100.

ity of the ages past to a higher plane. In the Avesta the personification of the power of good is Ormazd, or Auramazda, the bright, omnipotent, omniscient, the embodiment of good and beauty, as against Ahriman, the prince of darkness and death, the embodiment of evil. In the Achæmenidan inscriptions this dualistic principle is represented in Auramazda and Drauga. Auramazda is "a great god, who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created welfare for man, who made Darius king."[1] "This (is) what (was) done; all this I did according to the will of Auramazda; Auramazda brought me aid while I was doing the deed. May Auramazda protect me against the adversary, and my house and this country. For this I implore Auramazda. This may Auramazda grant me."[2]

To Darius he gave the xšathram, kingdom, to man in general šiyātim, welfare. He was mathišta bagānām, the greatest of gods, besides whom there were also aniyā bagāhā, other gods. Art. Sus. a. and Art. Ham. mention two other deities which were honored at the Persian court—namely, Anāhita and Mithra. From the sources available it cannot be determined whether Darius included them in the aniyā bagāhā, or whether they were introduced at a later date.[3] The praise of Mithra is eloquently sung in the Avesta,

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[1]Dar. NR. a. 1, et passim.

[2]Dar. NR. a. 5.

[3]Anāhita, which appears in the inscriptions as anahata, is the name of a goddess of Elamitic origin and means "spotless." In the Younger Avesta this word occurs as anāhita. For Mithra cf. Hillebrandt, Ved. Myth. 3, 128; Tolman, PAPA. 33, 69; Jackson, JAOS, 21, 169.

as follows: "Mithra, of far courses, we worship with sacrifice, a god, truth speaking, eloquent, of a thousand ears, well shapened, of ten thousand eyes, tall, with broad windows, strong, sleepless, ever watchful, giving instruction as a reward, lord of hosts, possessor of a thousand spies, ruler, master, all-knowing."[1] Mithra was the personification of the sun, while Anāhita possibly corresponds to the Greek Aphrodite.

Auramazda is the protector of "truth" and the unrelenting foe of "lie" and "deceit". He gave laws according to which man must live.[2] Obedience to god and loyalty to the royal house are synonymous conceptions. The evil he will punish, but the doers of his will are rewarded.[3] Darius established sanctuaries for the gods and restored those which Gaumāta had destroyed.[4] But in spite of his zeal for Auramazda, the king took pains not to offend the religious feelings of his subjects who worshiped in a different form from that prescribed in Zoroastrianism. As has been mentioned above, he was tolerant toward the Jews, even aiding them in the erection of their temple; and in Egypt he built temples in honor of the gods of that land. A similar policy he also pursued toward the Greek and other religious systems.[5] Opposed to this power of good was the power of evil, Drauga. H. C. Tolman, in his Ancient Persian Lexi-

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[1]Tolman and Stevenson, Herod. and the Emp. E. 98.
[2]NR. a. 6.
[3]Beh. IV, 10, 11, 16, 17.
[4]Beh. I, 14.
[5]Lepsius, Egypt. Ztschr. VI, 43; Ezra, VI.

con, shows how strongly marked was this contrast in the Achæmenidan inscriptions. Under Drauga,[1] lie, he writes: "Ahura Mazda, as guardian of Truth and Avenger of Deceit, is opposed to that force embodied in the Lie. . . . The Druj (drauga) is certainly a personification of Evil (cf. Jackson, Grundr. d. iran. Philol. II, 630). It is the Druj which is the source of rebellion (Beh. IV, 4): 'The Lie made them rebellious, so that these deceived the people.' The prayer of Darius is that his country may be saved from the Druj (Pers. d. 3): 'Let Auramazda protect this country from an evil host, from famine, from Deceit; may not an evil host nor famine nor Deceit come upon this country.' He warns his successors to guard against the Druj and to punish the liar (Beh. IV, 5): 'O thou who shalt be king in the future, protect thyself strongly from Deceit; whatever man shall be a deceiver, him well punished, punish.' It was because Darius was not under the influence of the Druj, that he became the favorite of Auramazda (Beh. IV, 13): 'For this reason Auramazda bore me aid and the other gods which are, because I was not an enemy, I was not a deceiver, I was not a wrongdoer, neither I nor my family.' Morality is to walk in the path of Truth (NRa. 6): 'O man, what (is) the precept of Auramazda, may it not seem repugnant to thee; do not leave the true path; do not sin.' This personification of the Avestan Druj in the Persian drauga, found, as we should expect, no correspondence in Babylonian thought (cf. Gray, JAOS., 21, 181). How strikingly is this seen in the contrast between drauga

[1]Anc. Pers. Lex. p. 103. Translations are here inserted of passages referred to by Tolman.

dahyauvā vasiy abava, 'the druj (lie) dominated the province' and the lame Babylonian version parsa-a-tu ina mātāti lu ma-du i-mi-du, 'in the lands lies became numerous' (Beh. I, 10). Tolman, in PAPA, 33, 69. In Beh. IV, 4, drauga di[š hamithriy]ā akunauš, KT ignore entirely this personification in their translation, 'lies made them revolt!'" The ancient Persian drauga (YAv. draoga) is a derivative of the root duruj, which is employed by Darius to characterize the claims of the rebels.[1] The lie was detested by the Persians to a degree unheard of prior to their time. Herodotus also testifies to the love for truth among them in words like these: "From their fifth to their twentieth year they instruct their children in three things only: the art of the bow, horsemanship, and a strict regard for the truth. . . . They hold falsehood in the greatest abhorrence."[2] In consideration of the facts mentioned above, the personification of the power of good as culminating in Auramazda, and of the power of evil as distinctly brought out in Drauga, the dualistic conception in the religion of Darius cannot be doubted. With the supremacy assigned to Auramazda, the inscription of the Behistan rock is virtually monotheistic. The Vendidad is full of references to minor gods, but Auramazda is always superior, as is also true in the records of the Achæmenidan kings. Darius thus expresses his maxim of life regarding his god: "O man, what (is) the precept of Auramazda, may it not seem re-

[1]Bh. b—j.
[2]Hdt. I, 136 and 138.

pugnant to thee, do not leave the true path, do not sin."[1]

The power and influence of Zoroastrianism as a national religion was hopelessly destroyed by the conquest of the Mohammedan hosts, 641 A.D. Those who did not accept the faith of the invaders either sought refuge in the mountains, where they remain to-day a scattered remnant of a few thousand, or emigrated to the lands of the Indus, where there is still existing a flourishing settlement in the regions of Bombay. Here they are called by their ancient name, Parsees, and their number is quite large. They seriously object to being called fire-worshippers, and are known for their integrity, morality, and benevolence. A Parsee catechism, published in Bombay some twenty years ago, contains the remarkable creed: "We believe in only one god, and do not believe in any besides him. . . . He is the god who created the heavens, the earth, the angels, the stars, the sun, the moon, the fire, the water, . . . and all things of the worlds; that god we believe in, him we invoke, him we adore." And lest this should be supposed to be a modern confession, the creed further declares: "This is the religion which the true prophet Zurthust, brought from god."[2] At any rate, such a creed is not unlike that of the great Persian king.

G. General Characteristics

The contrast between Darius and his predecessors was marked. Before him severity and the proverbial iron hand had ruled over the different nationalities

[1]Dar. NR. a, 6.

[2]E. F. Ellinwood, Oriental Religions and Christianity, pp. 246, 247.

which made up the empire. He on the other hand endeavored to be all things to all men, and great success crowned his efforts. Of course he was proud of his ancestry and was eager to record his Persian origin at every possible opportunity. His sense of justice was universally lauded, and his gratitude to such as had merited his favors knew no bounds. The rebellious peoples were treated with wonderful leniency if the spirit of those times is taken into consideration. Though the leaders met some horrible fate, such as the cutting off of ears and nose, putting out of eyes, crucifixion, and other tortures, yet those whom they led usually escaped punishment. Even toward the Greeks, who had again and again compromised themselves politically in a most flagrant manner, he manifested much patience. Deep also was his concern for the development of agriculture and trade in his dominions. The aim was to produce everything possible on the soil and within the bounds of the State.[1] No other nation in the Orient had been as productive in garden and field as Persia. It was one of his greatest pleasures to view the progress made and results achieved. One almost feels the touch of modern times when it is learned that he ordered national parks to be laid out over the whole country.[2] In him there is a most admirable blending of different characteristics. He was a statesman, warrior, economist, scientist, educator, the benefactor of his people, and the ardent protector of their religion. The Egyptians did well to place him on the honor roll of their great and wise; and justly posterity has affixed to his

[1]Xen. Oec. IV, 8–12.
[2]Diod. XVI, 41.

name the title "The Great." The educational influence and spiritual uplift among the peoples under his rule was noteworthy.[1] The author of the famous inscriptions evinces a fine understanding in the arts and science of the Babylonians and the Medes. In the library at Ecbatana were deposited documents of the empire, with a correct catalog of all royal decrees, army lists, taxations, satrapies, a description of the highway from Ephesus to Susa, to which later his son Xerxes added his own army index and similar matters. All these documents were carefully preserved in this library.[2] Edifices with inscriptions magnifying the deeds of the king were erected at different places, and many historical facts were recorded on them. In truth, he was able to write without boasting: "Says Darius the king: Who were the former kings, while they lived, by these nothing (was) thus done as (was) done by me according to the will of Auramazda in the same year."[3] Possibly the temple at Ecbatana and the edifices of Murghab existed when he took over the rule of the Persian State. But many of the buildings were the work of Darius, among which the terrace at Persepolis ranks as the foremost monument to its builder. These costly undertakings were possible because, through the establishment of the general system of taxation, the wealth of nations poured into his coffers in a never-ending stream.

As stated above, according to Herodotus Darius

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[1]Hdt. I, 136. fg.
[2]Ezra iv, 15 and vi, 1.
[3]Beh. IV, 9.

took part in the campaign of Cambyses against Egypt[1] and became king when only thirty years of age. This was 521 B.C., and he died 486 B.C. It was only with the aid extended him by the Persian princes that he ascended the throne. The list of names of those princes who assisted him in obtaining his object is recorded as follows: "Says Darius the king: These (are) the men who were there when I slew Gaumāta the Magian, who called himself Bardiya; then these men coöperated with me as my associates: Intaphernes by name, the son of Vāyaspārā, a Persian; Otanes by name, the son of Thukhra, a Persian; Gobryas by name, the son of Mardonius, a Persian; Hydarnes by name, the son of Bagābigna, a Persian; Megabyzus by name, the son of Dātuhya, a Persian; Ardumanish by name,the son of Vahauka, a Persian; . . . Says Darius the king: O thou, who shalt be king in the future, preserve [the family] of these men."[2]

In accordance with the custom of those days he had several wives. The names of his sons are given as follows: Ariamenes, also called Artabazanes; Ariabignes; Xerxes; Achæmenes; Masistes; perhaps also Hystaspes; Arsames; Gobryas; Ariomardus; Arsamenes; Abrokomas and Hyperanthes. There are said to have been six daughters, but only two names have been preserved, Mandane and Amytis.[3] After some hesitation he finally decreed that Xerxes should be

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[1]Hdt. III, 139.

[2]Beh. IV, 18.

[3]Cf. Stammbaum der Achæmeniden in Iranisches Namenbuch (Justi), p. 398.

come his successor to the throne. With the death of the great Persian one of the largest figures of the ancient world disappears, truth-loving, kindly inclined, sympathetic, a strong and imposing personality, he may rightly be acclaimed a model ruler of his times.

VI

Xerxes I

When Darius had been buried in the stately tomb at Nakš-i-Rustam, Xerxes,[1] his son by Atossa, ascended the Persian throne, 486 B.C.[2] The new king was said to be about thirty-five years old, extremely handsome of appearance, of an imposing figure,[3] and highly ambitious. But though filled with the best intentions, he soon became a tool in the hands of the two ever-scheming political parties at the court. Greece became the object of contention and agitation. The one party believed that the hour had struck for the proposed conquest of this country and that its addition to the empire would be highly beneficial, while the other party was just as firmly bent on preventing the execution of the plan which Darius already had comtemplated. The new king favored the immediate subjugation of the Greeks and began at once to make preparation for its accomplishment.[4] Meanwhile his attention was called to Babylon. In his zeal for the consolidation of the kingdom and in his endeavor to detract from the renown of his predecessors in order to add to his own, he adopted a policy which brought forth much trouble. He also later omitted the customary title "king of Babylon" and

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[1]Anc. Pers. xšayaršān; Elam. kšeršša; Bab. hi-ši-ar-ši; *xšaya, king, and* aršan, man: king-man.

[2]Hdt. VII, 187.

[3]Hdt. VII, 4,5.

[4]Hdt. VII, 8 fg.

reduced Babylonia to a satrapy, but the Babylonians resented this encroachment upon their national rights and became incensed against the new ruler. New revolutions resulted, but were suppressed. On the Contract Tablets, found in Borsippa, appear the names of Babylonian kings which do not occur elsewhere. In all probability they belong to the last days of Darius I extending into the first days of Xerxes I, as Ungnad conjectures. (Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmaeler VI, 331.) These tablets make it possible to supply the information needed in Persian-Babylonian history of this period and lead to the supposition that Xerxes was confronted by the task to subdue possibly two actual kings in Babylon who had endeavored to free Babylonia from Persian dominion. The victorious general Megabyzus was made satrap, and Xerxes reigned here with a ruthless hand. The son lacked the moderation which his father had shown under similar conditions. When at Babylon, he desired to see the grave of Bíl-Ítana, which was regarded as sacred. Xerxes insisted on his purpose, the grave by this act was considered desecrated, and the Babylonians became estranged from him.[1] Once more they rallied in revolt around Samaširbā, but as before they were soon subdued by the Persian soldiers.

In the year 485 B.C. the Egyptians again revolted and the Persian ruler was compelled to restore his authority with the sword. With a large army he went to the scene of the rebellion and after having subdued the uprising he degraded Egypt, which had retained up

[1]Ctesias Frag. Gilm. 30, 52.

to this date a semblance of independence, to a mere province of Persia.[1]

Quite different, however, was the outcome of the enterprise against Greece. The long-desired time had finally come, and Greece was to become a Persian satrapy. Xerxes himself was at the head of the great army, but the struggle at Thermopylæ and his utter defeat at Salamis show alike the character of men with whom he now had to contend. In Herodotus he appears as weak and arrogant, cowardly and cruel, neither a hero in battle nor a statesman.[2] The inscriptions do not furnish much testimony of his work. They report only his building at Van, Persepolis, and Elvend. At Persepolis, four times repeated on the propylæa of Xerxes above the sculptured winged bulls, in Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian, are found the following lines: "A great god (is) Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created welfare for man, who made Xerxes king, one king of many, one lord of many. . . . I (am) Xerxes the great king, king of kings, king of countries having many kinds of people, king of this great earth far and wide, the son of Darius the king, the Achæmenidan. . . . Says Xerxes the great king: According to the will of Auramazda, this colonnade[3] (for the representatives) of all countries I made; and much else (that is) beautiful (was) done throughout Persia which I did and which my father did; what-

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[1]Hdt. VII, 7.

[2]Hdt. VII, 101–104.

[3]Cf. Sect. on Location of Inscriptions.

ever work seems beautiful, all that we did according to the will of Auramazda. . . . Let Auramazda protect me and my kingdom and what (was) done by me, and what (was) done by my father, (all) this let Auramazda protect. . . ."[1] The other inscriptions of Xerxes at Persepolis do not differ greatly in content from the one just quoted.

The inscription of Xerxes at Elvend corresponds almost exactly with Xer. Per. a., 1-2, while that at Van states that Darius had done much work there, but had failed to record it in writing: "Says Xerxes the king: Darius the king, who (was) my father, he did much which (was) beautiful according to the will of Auramazda and he commanded to dig out this place where he did not make an inscription written; after that I commanded to write this inscription; let [Auramazda] protect [me with the gods, and my kingdom and what (has been) done by me]."[2]

A valuable side light on the character of Xerxes is furnished from Hebrew sources, particularly the work of Josephus and the book of Esther. Both sources present the same material: the banquet, the rejection of the queen Vashti, the elevation of Esther, the plot against the Jews, and the final issue in their favor due to the intercession of the new queen.[3]

A life of ease and pleasure filled out the last days of his reign. The government he left to his favorites, and it was only the ingenuity and skill with which Darius had consolidated the empire that prevented its

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[1]Xer. Pers. a., 1–4.
[2]Xer. Van, 3.
[3]Esther, I–X. Josephus XI, 5 fg.

dissolution at this early date. Given to impulse, unsteady in character, Xerxes did not respect the laws made for the benefit of the people. Herodotus describes him and the court as abounding in political intrigues, in which his wife, Amestris,[1] shared greatly and thus gained inglorious renown. No means, however barbaric and cruel, were considered illegitimate for the attainment of the object in view. By the end of the twenty-one years of his reign, the son had indirectly but surely torn down much of the structure of a sound and well-organized state inherited from his great father. When news of the ignominious defeat of his army and navy reached Susa, a conspiracy against the life of the king was formed under the leadership of Artabanus, an Hyrcanian and a favorite of Xerxes. The king fell a victim to assassination and with him also his oldest son, Darius. It is generally accepted that Artaxerxes was implicated in the murder of the king and his older brother.

The inner conditions of Persia under the rule of Xerxes were comparatively quiet. This was due, however, not so much to the labors of the king as to the fact that his predecessor had left the state in a flourishing condition. Whatever Xerxes attempted to accomplish out of his own initiative and according to his own plan, turned out mostly a failure. Unfortunately for Persia, most of his successors were of much the same type with him. His immediate successor was the third of his sons, Artaxerxes I, also called Dargadasta, "long-hand," Longimanus, who, through the crime indicated above, ascended the throne in the summer of 465 B.C.

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[1]Hdt. IX, 112.

VII

Artaxerxes I

Artabanus, who was the leader in the conspiracy against Xerxes, endeavored to make it appear before the public that Artaxerxes[1] was the real ruler, yet in fact he hoped to retain the reins in his own hand and to direct the affairs of the country. Artaxerxes, however, resented this attempt, and the interference led to an open break between them. Artaxerxes did not permit himself thus to be eliminated after Artabanus had used him as a tool in the assassination of Xerxes I. It was in Egypt that Artabanus found favor and gained the support of the masses. Here he was recognized as actual king, retaining his power as such for about seven months. Artaxerxes, after repeated efforts, finally succeeded in ridding himself of the power and influence of the usurper.[2] The spirit of insubordination and disorder swept over the whole empire. Hystaspes, a brother of the king, occupying the satrapy in Bactria, led on by imperialistic ambitions, also incited a revolt. After two severe defeats he disappears from view.

As soon as the king had fortified his position within his empire and stabilized the internal affairs in Persia proper, he directed his efforts against Egypt. En-

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[1]Anc. Pers., artaxšathra—*arta, "law," xšathra, "kingdom;" Elam., irtakšašša; Bab. artakšassu.

[2]Ctesias Frag. Gilm., 30, 61.

couraged by the defeat which the Persians had received from the hands of the Greeks, the Egyptians shook off the foreign yoke, declared their independence, and attempted the restoration of their ancient liberty and glory. A certain Inarus, son of Psammetichus, was proclaimed king, and a large army of defense was organized to crush the invaders. Achæmenes, the Persian satrap, hastened to Susa with the news of the rebellion. He soon returned with a powerful army.

With the aid of the Athenians the invaders were defeated at Papremis, and Achæmenes, the leader, lost his life.[1] Consternation reigned at Susa when the news of this defeat became known. Another large army was formed and sent forth. In this host were a large number of Spartans, as against the Athenians who fought on the side of Egypt. The Persians entered from Syria. The Athenians had anchored their vessels in one of the arms of the Nile near the island Prosopitis. The Persians cut the dam of the Nile arm and the foe, therefore, was unable to move, and his fleet was burned. After the Athenians had thus been disposed of, the Egyptians likewise suffered defeat. Inarus was taken captive and led to Susa as a prisoner. With the aid of the Athenians another king was proclaimed in Egypt, Amyrtaeus by name; but again the country was subjugated to Persia. Artaxerxes treated the former rebels very leniently and exercised justice tempered with mildness; his name appears to be well known in the annals of Egypt.[2]

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[1]Hdt. III, 12; VII, 7.

[2]Prašek, Gesch. der Med. und Pers. II, p. 163–165.

Syria also became infected with the spirit of revolt and was led on in this enterprise by Megabyzus, the satrap of that province. A reconciliation between the satrap and the king was soon effected and thus the revolt ceased.

Under the rule of Artaxerxes took place also what is known in sacred history as the second return of the Jews from their captivity. A rivalry had arisen between the Jews and their Samaritan neighbors on account of the building of the temple. When the Samaritans were not permitted to assist in the erection of the new edifice, they desired to hinder the whole undertaking. A letter of complaint was sent to the Persian court, and the work was temporarily enjoined by the king. Afterwards, however, it was allowed to proceed. The Jewish colony had become very influential in Babylon and Susa. Some of their race had held the highest offices in the empire. A certain Jew, Nehemiah, was one of the trusted servants of the king and always in his presence. On one occasion his master found him extremely depressed and downhearted. To an inquiry of the king he replied: "The city, the place of my father's sepulchre, lieth waste, and the gates thereof are consumed with fire." The king at once ordered the work to proceed, and further granted his servant a leave of absence to return to his native land and take with him as many as wished to accompany him on this journey. So Nehemiah returned to Jerusalem in the twentieth year of the reign of Artaxerxes, about 445 B.C.[1]

The strength of the Greek States caused the king to

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[1]Nehemiah ii.

adopt a conciliatory attitude toward the extreme western portions of his empire. The famous Cimonian peace treaty practically put an end to the Persian suzerainty in Thrace, Ionia, and other valuable parts of those western regions.[1] Only with the beginning of the Peloponnesian war was it possible for Persia to regain a little of her former prestige in the west.

Of his inner policies very little is known. At first he resided at Susa, but when the apadāna here was destroyed by fire he built himself a palace at Babylon.[2] As to his person, he was tall and handsome, a commanding figure, of kindly disposition and actuated by just and liberal principles, a worthy successor to the throne of Darius. The inscriptions bring us but little from him. There are three vases with his name and title: Artaxšathra xšāyathiya vazarka, Artaxerxes the great king;[3] and Artaxšathra xšāyathiya. In addition to these, there is also a badly mutilated inscription at Persepolis appearing in Babylonian only. Weissbach gives this rendering: "(As) the only one, [among many rulers] I (am) [Artaxerxes, the great king, king] of kings, king of countries [of all tongues], king [of this great wide] earth, [son of] Xerxes, [the king, son of Darius the king], the Achæmenidan. Artaxerxes [the great king, says]: Under the protection [of Auramazda have I] built for myself this house, [which King Xerxes] my

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[1]Hdt. VII, 106.

[2]Art. Sus. a.

[3]Art. Vase inscriptions. Cf. Weissbach, Keilinschr. d. Achæm, 120, 121.

father [had built]. May [Auramazda with the gods] protect me and my rulership [and what I have built."[1]]

After a comparatively happy reign of 41 years the king died in the spring of the year 424 B.C.

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[1]Weissbach, Keilinschr. der Achæm. 121.

VIII

Signs of Decline

With the passing of Artaxerxes I, the stability of the Persian State was at an end. The signs and the causes of its approaching dissolution were many.

The later kings of Persia too often gave themselves over to indolence and voluptuous luxury. Confined to their palaces amongst a crowd of flatterers and women, they contented themselves with effeminate ease, and their pride was that of wealth and extravagance. Furthermore, after Artaxerxes I, the rulers were men of only moderate ability, by no means equal to the responsibility of their position. Rather than endure the fatigue of commanding armies or the dangers of executing great enterprises, these kings confined their ambitions to merely bearing the lofty title of xšāyathiya vazarka, xšāyathiya xšāyathiyānām: great king, king of kings. Being unable themselves to rule, they transferred greater and still greater powers of government to officials who were likewise unfit to render the state any disinterested service. In filling the offices of the country nothing but the credit of favorites, the secret of intrigues of the court, and the solicitations of women of the palace determined the choice of persons.

Reproached for their shortcomings, they would often, through false information and wily accusations, cause the death or removal of the faithful servants

in order to save their own wretched lives. And the generals, in their campaigns, were often restrained under such limited orders as to be obliged to let the opportunity of victory slip, or perhaps counter orders would prevent them from pushing their advantage. They were made responsible for their failure under conditions which made success impossible.

A great obstacle to real unity in the empire lay in the remoteness of the provinces, which extended from the Ganges to the Ægean Sea, from the Caspian to the Red Sea. These different nations never had the satisfaction of having their ruler among them; they knew him only by the weight of their taxes and by the pride and oppression of the governors. If any one should be daring enough to journey to the capital and personally attempt to interview the king, and to present his complaints, small hope was there to gain access to a majesty that gloried in making itself even invisible to the common people. There was no unity of language or custom or manners, of religion or interests, nothing but a confused, forced assemblage of different nations which only the strong arm of power could hold together even temporarily. As the years progressed, abuse of power, pride, arrogance, vanity, luxury, and flagrant extortions increased. And for this waste and high living the masses were taxed and burdened, often against the express desire of the king. But since the king's residence was so remote from the territories of the vice-regents, satraps, and governors, his wishes were not always respected. Yet the actions of these officials only reflected the splendor, luxury, and high life of the court. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the different peoples comprised in the prov-

inces were unconcerned for the preservation of an empire which was considered only a means for their oppression and exploitation, with never an opportunity for them to share in its counsels or give expression to their own desires. Such were the evils which remained unremedied, which were indeed augmented by impunity of offenders and developed the germs of decay in the national life.

IX

Xerxes II

Artaxerxes dying left his kingdom to his son, Xerxes II, 424 B.C. The latter very soon[1] fell a victim to the ambitions of his illegitimate brother Sogdianus, called Secydianus by Ctesias. The specter of distrust and conspiracy was ever present at the court. Another half brother, Ochus, having learned of the murder of Xerxes, now began to make war on the usurper. Sogdianus requested him to appear at the court. Ochus, however, endeavored to find an excuse for delay, and meanwhile prepared for battle. Arbasius, the chief of the royal horsemen, and Arsames, satrap of Egypt, espoused his cause, and jointly with Artoxares, succeeded in placing Ochus upon the throne. As king he assumed the title Darius II.[2]

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[1]Justi, Grundr. d. iran. Philol. II, 461. Cf. Prašek, Gesch. der Med. und Pers. II, p. 172, Anm. 2.

[2]Prašek, Gesch. der Med. und Pers. II, p. 173; Ctesias Frag. Gilm., 31, 79.

X

Darius II[1]

The new ruler was of a feeble character, violent and cruel at times. His shameless wife and half sister, Parysatis, a woman of bold, intriguing, and cruel disposition, together with the eunuchs, exercised complete control over the king. Again rebellion broke forth in numerous places. His own brother Aršites rose against him, yet the Greek troops under him proved disloyal and went over to the army of the king. Aršites surrendered and was executed. In Lydia the satrap Pissuthnes revolted. But as before, the Greek troops in his army proved unfaithful to their leader and went over to the army of Darius. The uprising was crushed 413 B.C., and Tissaphernes was made a satrap in Lydia.[2] In Media likewise a revolution was begun in 410 B.C., but as in the case of Lydia the uprising was quickly suppressed by force of Persian arms.[3]

For about sixty years the Greek cities had been practically independent of Persian control, but after the defeat of the Athenians in Sicily, 413 B.C., the

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[1]In the inscriptions Darius II appears only in the genealogy of Artaxerxes II (Art. Sus., Art. Ham.) and Artaxerxes III (Art. Pers.); his history is based upon the reports of the Greek historians.

[2]Ctesias Frag. Gilm., 31, 80, fg.

[3]Ctesias Frag. Gilm., 31, 83.

Peloponnesian war broke out anew. It was at this moment that Darius saw his opportunity to reëstablish the imperial authority in Greece. Tissaphernes, who had been intrusted with the task of accomplishing this object, was supposed to render effective help to Sparta, but in his double dealings he weakened both Athens and Sparta. The king further sent his younger son, Cyrus, down the coast as satrap and military commander at Castolus. Rivalry between the two commanders in the west was a frequent cause of discord.

When Darius became ill Parysatis tried to induce him to name her favorite son, Cyrus, as his successor, and he was sent for immediately. The king, however, died 405-4 B.C. before a decision was reached, and Artaxerxes, the elder son, ascended the throne, assuming the title Artaxerxes II.[1] The hopes of the ambitious Cyrus were thus shattered at one blow. Being energetic and highly capable, he seems to have believed from the first that his father would name him as his successor to the exclusion of his older brother, who was of a timid disposition. Besides he was the favorite of the queen and bore the proud name of the founder of the empire. However, the intercession of Parysatis and his own efforts failed.[1]

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[1]Xen. Anab.; Xen. Hell.; Ctesias Frag. Gilm. 32, 57.

XI

Artaxerxes II

On account of his possessing a remarkable memory, the Persians called Artaxerxes in his youth Abiyatāka, the Greeks surnaming him in their own language Mnemon.[1] In the Susian Inscriptions he speaks thus of himself: "Says Artaxerxes the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of this earth, the son of Darius the king: Darius (was) the son of Artaxerxes the king, Artaxerxes (was) the son of Xerxes the king; Xerxes (was) the son of Darius the king; Darius was the son of Hystaspes the Achæmenidan; this apadāna Darius, my ancestor, built; later under Artaxerxes my grandfather it was burned; by the grace of Auramazda, Anāhita, and Mithra, I built this apadāna; may Auramazda, Anāhita, and Mithra protect me . . . I (am) Artaxerxes the great king, king of kings, the king, the son of Darius the king."[2] . . . These statements are repeated on the moldings of pedestals from Hamadan. From these records it would appear that the king was engaged extensively in building. According to Dieulafoy these operations took place at Susa, where he erected the so-called Hall of Pillars and a palace of

[1]Compare Stonecipher, Græco-Persian Names p. 15; Ctesias, Frag. Gilm. 31 and 80.

[2]Art. Sus. a, b.

rare beauty and symmetry.[1] The Greek writers represent him as a man of culture and refinement, generous and just,[2] who with great wisdom and industry essayed the task of repairing the crumbling structure of the empire, but his conduct did not always accord with this picture. Two factors, moreover, contributed considerably to the discomfort of the king. The one was the restless ambition of his brother Cyrus and the other a new rebellion in Egypt.

Cyrus had endeavored to enlist the good will of the Spartans in many ways, hoping that he might have their aid in his designs to gain the Persian throne. His whole conduct toward the king was somewhat compromising; and finally Tissaphernes accused him of plotting the murder of the king. Only the intervention of his mother Parysatis saved his life. Cyrus returned to his satrapy vowing vengeance for his humiliation at the hands of his brother; and from that time on he made careful preparations to force Artaxerxes to relinquish the throne in his own favor. Setting out from Sardis with a large army consisting of both Persian and Greek units, he began his march into the interior of the empire in the spring of 401 B.C. The two opposing armies met at Cunaxa some months later. A battle ensued, and Cyrus was slain in a hand-to-hand encounter with his brother, probably September 3, 401 B.C.

Artaxerxes, after having given his people rest from warfare for several years, formed new designs of reconquering Egypt, which had some time before suc-

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[1] Cf. Sect. on Location of Inscriptions.

[2] Diod. XV, 93.

ceeded in shaking off the Persian yoke. A large army, however, was required for the successful prosecution of his plans. At length everything seemed to be in readiness. The army consisted of 200,000 Persians, 20,000 Greeks; the fleet had 300 war ships and a large number of various vessels required for provisioning the army and navy. But the Egyptians under Nectanebus had likewise prepared and were now in a position to render more or less effective opposition. However, through the fall of their fort Mendesium they were compelled to retreat. Pharnabazus, the Persian commander, failed to exploit his advantage. This gave the disordered Egyptians a chance to rally. They drew all their troops together, placed a strong garrison in Memphis, and with the rest of their army continued to harass the invaders to such an extent that farther advance was made impossible. In addition to this, the Egyptians inundated the Nile valley, laying Egypt under water, and thus forced the invaders to return into Phœnicia after having lost the best part of their troops. This expedition, which had cost tremendously in men and treasure, entirely miscarried.[1]

At the close of the Egyptian war, the greater part of the provinces west of the Euphrates subject to Persia revolted. Syria, Phœnicia, and many of her provinces declared themselves openly and took up arms. The principal leaders were Ariobarzanes, of Phrygia; Mausolus, king of Caria; Orontes, governor of Mysia; and Autophradates, of Lydia.[2] Their

[1]Diod. XV, 42–44.

[2]Diod. XV, 90.

union, however, was of short duration. Some of those who had been first and most zealous in freeing themselves from the yoke were also foremost in resuming it. They betrayed the interests of the common cause[1] and endeavored to rehabilitate themselves in the graces of the king. Although this formidable revolt had brought the empire to the very brink of ruin, it broke to pieces on the rocks of petty jealousies; and in this manner the dissolution of the state was postponed.

The last years of the king were darkened by the intrigues and machinations of his immediate family. Conspiracy and murder were not infrequent guests in his home. The old king, being feeble from age and grieving greatly over the crimes of his family, died after a reign of 46 years, 359 B.C. His prayer, as embodied in the Inscription of Hamadan, was indeed opportune and of greater significance than he himself realized: "Says Artaxerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of this earth, son of Darius the king: Darius (was) the son of Artaxerxes the king; Artaxerxes (was) the son of Xerxes the king; Xerxes (was) the son of Darius the king; Darius (was) the son of Hystaspes, the Achæmenidan; this apadāna by the will of Auramazda, Anāhita, and Mithra we made: let Auramazda, Anāhita, and Mithra *protect me and my kingdom and this which we have done.*"[2] He loved his people and was in turn generally loved by them. Ochus, the most cunning of his sons, after having murdered many of his brothers, thus removing his dangerous rivals, succeeded to the throne.

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[1]Diod. XV, 91.

[2]Art. Ham., Tolman's emendation; Anc. Pers. Lex., p. 54.

XII

Artaxerxes III (Ochus)

The memory of Artaxerxes II was greatly honored and revered throughout the land. This fact, however, caused Ochus to fear for himself all the more, realizing his shortcomings and feeling that he had made himself unpopular through the murder of his brothers.[1] At first the king's death was concealed from the public for almost a whole year, and Ochus administered the affairs of the country as if the king were still alive. He issued decrees in the dead ruler's name and declared himself the heir to the throne. When he considered his position sufficiently fortified, he openly announced himself king and assumed the title Artaxerxes III. Of a base and cruel character, he proved to be one of the most bloody rulers of the house of the Achæmenidans. He literally revelled in murders. Without consideration for sex or age, whoever had the misfortune to arouse his dislike or suspicion was doomed to certain death. The inscription of Artaxerxes III furnishes no information regarding his work with the exception of his building a stone staircase at Persepolis. His whole record reads as follows: "A great god (is) Auramazda, who created this earth, who created yonder heaven, who created man, who created well-being for man, who made me, Artaxerxes, king, one king of many, one

[1]Prašek, Gesch der Med. und Pers. II, p. 220 fg.

lord of many. Says Artaxerxes, the great king, king of kings, king of countries, king of this earth: I (am) the son of king Artaxerxes; Artaxerxes (was) the son of king Darius; Darius (was) the son of king Artaxerxes; Artaxerxes (was) the son of king Xerxes; Xerxes (was) the son of king Darius; Darius (was) the son of Hystaspes by name; Hystaspes (was) the son of Arsames by name, the Achæmenidan. Says Artaxerxes the king: This stone staircase (is) made by me. Says Artaxerxes, the king: Let Auramazda and the god Mithra protect me and this country and what (was) done by me."[1]

More and more frequently occurred revolutions and uprisings which he was unable to subdue. Egypt was again a center of trouble. Artabazus in the western provinces had attempted a revolt, but, being deserted by the Greeks, was at last overcome. However, the Egyptian problem was not so easily settled; it now claimed the king's entire and anxious attention. When preparations for another campaign were still incomplete, the Phœnicians likewise went on the warpath against the Persians. They had formed a league with the Egyptians and, with the aid given them, were able to force back the Persians, who had approached their borders under the satraps of Syria and Cilicia.[2] Artaxerxes placed the blame for these reverses upon his generals and now decided to lead his armies in person.

With a great army he appeared before Sidon, took the city through treason, and in despair, the inhabit-

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[1]Art. Pers.
[2]Diod. XVI, 41 fg.

ants, more than 40,000 in number, shut themselves up in their homes and set fire to the immensely rich city. It was utterly destroyed.[1] Persian money and beguiling talk had corrupted the Greek states and now rendered easier the conquest of Cyprus. The Jews likewise came in for their share of the desolation of war. As soon as Sidon had been taken, Artaxerxes, through his general, Bagoses, besieged Jerusalem, captured and transported a large number of Jews to Hyrcania.[2] Finally, all was in readiness for the advance against Egypt. Nectanebus had expected this action and had made hasty preparation to meet the attack. Again, as in days past, the Greek soldiers in foreign service proved unreliable. Pelusium fell into the hands of the Persian. Egypt lay at the mercy of the invader. The brutality of the king was so great and the report of it caused such terror to all garrisons that Greeks and Egyptians vied with each other to manifest their submission. Nectanebus, having lost all hope, escaped with his treasures into Ethiopia, from whence he never returned. He was the last king of Egypt. The Persians pillaged the temples and plundered the public buildings, carrying with them rich spoils of gold and silver, and left Pherendates behind as the Persian satrap.[3]

After his return from the strenuous toil of battle and conquest, the king gave himself over to a life of luxury and ease, leaving the affairs of the government in the hands of two ministers, the eunuch Bagoas and the

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[1]Diod. XVI, 45.
[2]Josephus, Jud. Arch. XI, 7, 1.
[3]Diod. XVI, 49–51.

Rhodian Mentor. The former, however, being of Egyptian birth, had never quite forgiven the king for the treatment accorded Egypt, and especially the Egyptian religion. The new insult, when Artaxerxes had the sacred Apis dragged out of his temple and sacrificed, caused Bagoas to plot against the life of the king. He effected his death through poisoning, 338 B.C. All power was now vested in the hands of this monster Bagoas, who, after having caused the murder of a number of princes, proclaimed Arses king, but after a short reign Arses likewise lost his life at the hands of the regent.[1]

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[1]Diod. XVII, 5.

XIII

Darius III

Bagoas then placed upon the throne the only remaining relative of the house of the Achæmenidans, Darius, satrap of Armenia, who assumed the title Darius III. The young ruler distrusted Bagoas, and the latter finally fell a victim to his own scheming. The throne of Persia was shaking. Alexander was knocking at the gates of the empire. With a picked army, he crossed the Hellespont and gave battle to the Persians on the banks of the Uspala (Granicus) in Mysia and defeated the defenders. He now advanced into the interior of the empire. Darius hastened to meet him, and another battle was fought at Issus in Cilicia (333 B.C.). The Macedonian again proved himself victorious. Darius lost a large part of his army; his mother, his wife, and his children fell into captivity, although the king himself succeeded in escaping into the interior of the country.[1] With striking rapidity Alexander pushed the conquest of the western Persian dominions and, advancing eastward, he was about to capture Darius along with his army, when this last ruler of the Achæmenidans fell at the hands of an assassin. Such was the end (330 B.C.) of his reign of six unhappy years. Thus after an existence of nearly 230 years, the Persian world power received its death blow from the Macedonian conquerer. It has exerted a marked influence upon later generations and has formed an important link in the evolution of political institutions.

[1]G. Maspero, Passing of the Empires, 850 B. C.-330 B. C.

XIV

Chronology

A. *Ancient Persian Chronology in General*

The methods employed in the determination of the chronology of the ancient nations were: the generations of men, or the succession of kings, assigning three generations or succession of kings to a century; the astronomical method, which consists in the calculations of celestial appearances and changes, depending on strict astronomical principles perfectly settled; coins, medals, monuments, and inscriptions; and the testimony of historians. For the chronology of the Achæmenidans the Astronomical Canon in connection with the tabulation of Manetho is to be considered the most reliable method, since the reckoning of generations and the succession of kings offer but doubtful information, and unfortunately the Persian inscriptions do not furnish any years.

The Astronomical Canon counts one year less than Manetho. They agree as to beginning their table of ancient Persian chronology with Darius I, to which the years of Cyrus the Great and Cambyses are to be added. They agree also in regard to the dissolution of the empire through the conquest of Alexander the Great. Therefore, the one year in question must be accounted for merely on the ground of different methods of reckoning. The Astronomical Canon seems not to consider the few months of Artabanus,

Xerxes II, and Sogdianus, since they were not real kings, but only usurpers of the throne. For full discussion of Ancient Persian chronology and the various views of the different chronographers compare Prašek's Geschichte der Meder und Perser, II, 12-24. It may be of more than passing interest to note that the Babylonian sources confirm the chronological records of the Canon, since the Persian and the Babylonial year are indentical as Prašek and Weissbach[1] have pointed out. The chronological order of Persian kings, then, would be as follows:

Cyrus the Great, 559–529 B.C.—thirty years.
Cambyses, 529–522 B.C.—seven years.
Darius the Great, 521–486 B.C.—thirty-six years.
Xerxes I, 486–465 B.C.—twenty-one years.
Artaxerxes I, 465–424 B.C.—forty-one years.
Xerxes II, 424 B.C.—six weeks.
Darius II, 424–405 B.C.—nineteen years.
Artaxerxes II, 405–359 B.C.—forty-six years.
Artaxerxes III (Ochus), 359–338 B.C.—twenty-one years.
Arses, 338–336 B.C.—two years.
Darius III, 336–330 B.C.—six years.

[1]ZDMG. LXI, 723 fg.

GENEALOGICAL ORDER

ACHÆMENES

TEISPES

Ruling	*Non-Ruling*
Cyrus.	
Cambyses.	Ariaramnes.
Cyrus the Great.	Arsames.
Cambyses.	Hystaspes.
	Ruling
	Darius the Great.
	Xerxes I.
	Artaxerxes I.
	Xerxes II.
	Darius II.
	Artaxerxes II.
	Artaxerxes III (Ochus).
	Arses.
	Darius III.

B. *Ancient Persian Months*

In recording the various battles which Darius fought, he minutely sets forth the exact day and month of each. It is probable that the Persian calendar was borrowed from Assyrian sources. George Smith discovered a curious religious Assyrian calendar in 1869. In this calendar every month is divided into four weeks, and the seventh days are set down as days on which there should be a complete cessation of all work.[1] It has been pointed out above that the Babylonian and the Persian years are identical. The months likewise, if not actually identical, are at least closely related.

[1]George Smith, Assyrian Discoveries, p. 12.

There does not exist any difficulty as far as the days are concerned. But it is not always possible to identify the Persian months. By comparison of the Persian, Elamite, and Babylonian texts, and the Aramaic Papyrus fragments of the Behistan Inscriptions it is possible to identify at least six with some degree of certainty.

Anāmaka: a+*nāmaka, month of the nameless (god), December-January.[1]

Thūravāhara; *thūra, vigorous,+*vāhara, springtime, April-May.[2]

Thāigarci; May-June.[3]*

Athriyādiyā; ātar, fire, +*yādiya, worship, November-December.[4]

Viyakhna; February-March.[5]

Garmapada; *garma, heat+*pada, station, June-July. This identification was made by Tolman through a comparison of the recently discovered Aramaic Papyrus fragments of the Behistan Inscription. According to this authority garmapada is identical with Tammuz, Bab. dūzu, Elam. karmapattaš.

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[1]Bab. tebêtu; Elam. anāmkkas. Cf. Tolman, Anc. Pers. Lex., p. 63; Justi, ZDMG., LI, 248; Bartholomæ, Grundr., 412; Johnson, Hist. Gram., 240.

[2]Bab. airu; Elam. turmar. Cf. Tolman, Anc. Pers. Lex., 97; Bartholomæ, Grundr., 412; Johnson, Hist. Gram., 240.

[3]Bab. simānu; Elam. saikurriziš. Cf. Tolman, Anc. Pers. Lex., 95; Johnson, Hist. Gram., 240.

[4]Bab. kišlimu; Elam. aššiyatiyaš. Cf. Tolman, Anc. Pers. Lex., 62; Bartholomæ, Grundr., 412; Johnson, Hist. Gram., 240.

[5]Viyaxna, Bab. addaru; Elam, miyakannaš. Cf. Tolman, Anc. Pers. Lex., 126; Johnson, Hist. Gram., 240.

This identification is now considered certain by historians as well as philologists.[1]

This leaves the problem of three more Persian months yet to be solved. Markazanaš, which appears in Elamite, the name being mutilated in ancient Persian, in the opinion of Weissbach corresponds to the eighth Babylonian month araḫsamna, October-November. (ZDMG, LXII, 637). Bāgayādi, baga, god, +*yāda, worship, has been conjectured by Oppert and Marquart to agree with the Babylonian month išritu, September-October. Adukaniša (kan, to dig) is even more doubtful.

[1]Cf. Tolman AJP. XXXII, 444–5.

XV

Ancient Persian Laws and Customs

A. *Laws*

The inscriptions furnish abundant evidence of the severity of the laws established. They were not made with the consent of the governed nor always for their interest and protection, but promulgated by royal decrees. After having been formulated and issued, such edicts were considered unchangeable and irrevocable.[1] Even the king himself lacked the power to recall them when the orders were once given.[2] The subjects were entirely at the mercy of their ruler as regards their estates, possessions, and lives. A striking illustration of this is found in the Behistan inscription where Darius speaks in a general way of the principles which guided him in the treatment of the rebels who had transgressed the foremost law of the land in raising the standard of revolt: "Says Darius the king: These (are) the provinces which became rebellious; the lie made them rebellious; so that these deceived the people; after that Auramazda gave them into my hand; as was my will thus (I did) unto them. Says Darius the king: O thou who shalt be king in the future, protect thyself strongly from deceit; whatever man be a deceiver, him *well punished, punish,* if thus thou shalt think,

[1]Dan. vi, 8.
[2]Dan. vi, 12, 15.

'may my country be secure.'"[1] The punishments most frequently inflicted were crucifixion and horrible mutilations.[2] The fact that similar forms of punishment were known in Europe even during the Middle Ages, serves to recall the slow development of the humane treatment of offenders and to extenuate somewhat the cruelty of the ancient Persian kings.

B. *Customs*

An outstanding national virtue of the Persian was his truthfulness. The knowledge of the art of riding on horseback and of using the bow was considered an essential part of the young Persian's education.[3] To tell a lie was considered the greatest disgrace.[4] The inscriptions amply verify the statements of Herodotus, since they bear abundant testimony to the contempt in which the lie or deceit was held. "It was the lie," says Darius, "that made the countries rebellious.[5] Gaumâta the Magian deceived the people."[6] Also over the prostrate form of each of the rebels is recorded: "This is . . . . he lied."[7] Among the festivals, particular attention was paid to the birthday, at which occasion the Persians indulged in banquets and feasts.[8] The love of ease and luxury grew as the wealth of the nation increased. The Per-

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[1]Beh. IV, 4, 5.
[2]Beh. II, 14 et passim.
[3]Hdt. I, 136.
[4]Hdt. I, 138.
[5]Beh. I, 10; IV, 4.
[6]Beh. I, 11.
[7]Cf. Sect. Religion of Darius.
[8]Hdt. I, 133.

sians were fond of strong drink, and their deliberations are said to have taken place often when they were "warmed with wine."[1] Polygamy was encouraged, and the greater number of offspring a man possessed, the more highly he was esteemed in the eyes of his fellow men. The inscriptions mentioned as a special favor of Auramazda an abundant family. "Says Darius the king, ... may Auramazda be a friend to thee, and may there be to thee an abundant family and mayest thou live long. Says Darius the king, if thou shalt conceal this record (and) not tell (it) to the people, may Auramazda be a smiter unto thee, and may there not be a family to thee."[2] The fact that no woman is mentioned in the records, nor appears on any of the numerous reliefs, would seem to indicate that the Persians, in common with the other oriental nations of antiquity, held her in low esteem. Confined to her harem, she spent her days in unprofitable pastime and ease. To incur a debt was considered a disgrace,[3] and the buying and selling in the market place was thought to be ignoble. The Magi, guardians of the sacred mysteries, were of great importance, and as a class they exerted a very considerable influence.[4] It will be recalled that Gaumâta, who proved to be such a formidable foe of Darius, was a Magian.[5] In regard to the Persian national dress Herodotus says: "The Persians are of all men most inclined to adopt foreign manners; thinking

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[1]Hdt. I, 133.
[2]Beh. IV, 10, 11.
[3]Hdt. I, 138.
[4]Hdt. I, 140.
[5]Cf. Sect. on Revolutionary Wars, pp. 26–28.

the dress of the Medes more becoming than their own, they wear it in preference."[1] Strengthened by the statement of Herodotus, the prevalent opinion for centuries has been that the national Persian dress was the round hat, tight doublet, and trousers, and the Median the long robe, girt at the waist and falling in vertical folds in front and oblique folds on the side. The discussion of this subject by Tolman in the PAPA. XLIII, liv, however, emphazises the necessity of a complete reversal of the customary view. Seven inscriptions above the heads of the national types of the empire at Nakš-i-Rustam were noted by F. Houssay and Ch. Babin (Compts Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscriptions IV, 13, 23) and were read from photographs and published by Weissbach (Abhandlungen der k. saechsisch. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1911). The decipherment of these inscriptions definitely settles this question.

To quote Tolman: "Figure 1 wears the long robe reaching to the ankles, girt at the waist, and falling in vertical folds in front and oblique folds at the side. Above his head is the inscription which forever removes all doubt as to his nationality: iyam parsa, 'this is a Persian.' (Elam. hi I par-sir-ra; Bab. a-ga-a par-ša-a-a). Figure 2 shows the tightly fitting coat and the trousers, while the superscription with almost equal clearness (the supplement is not doubtful) defines his native country and costume: iyam (mada), 'this is a Mede.' In the light of this discovery it is obvious that there must be an exact reversal of the terms "Persian" and "Median" dress, so that we read "Persian" where "Median" occurs in our commenta-

[1]Hdt. I, 135.

ries and histories, and vice versa."[1] In addition to these inscriptions above the figures, Tolman, in further confirmation of this view, with happy results, cites numerous instances from other sculptures which agree with the evidence presented above.

The national life centered around the court and the king. As in art and architecture, Persia had borrowed extensively from Assyria and Babylonia,[2] so also the ceremonials of their kings were introduced into the Persian palace, and the sovereign was the absolute, infallible head of the country and the leader of good taste and etiquette. His person was adorned in gorgeous robes and gold chains; he is represented on the sculptures as long-bearded and dignified, sitting on an elaborate throne, with two attendants at attention, and also as walking forth attended by an umbrella bearer and fly-flap bearer. The bodyguard formed the nucleus for the army, the king personally being the commander in chief. The princes and nobility were the chief supporters of the throne, while the lower classes were frequently held in contempt by their superior masters. The upkeep of the court in money and means was tremendous. Ctesias, for instance, relates[3] that at least fifteen thousand people were fed by Darius daily, and that the wealth of the land flowed to the court in a never-ceasing stream. Significant is the fact that such a personage as the king himself is seen raising suppliant hands to Auramazda in devotion and worship, recognizing in his attitude a higher authority than himself.

[1]Tolman, PAPA, XLIII, liv. fg.
[2]A. V. W. Jackson, Persia Past and Present, 28.
[3]Ctesias, Frag. Gilm., 51.

XVI

The Inscriptions and Their Location

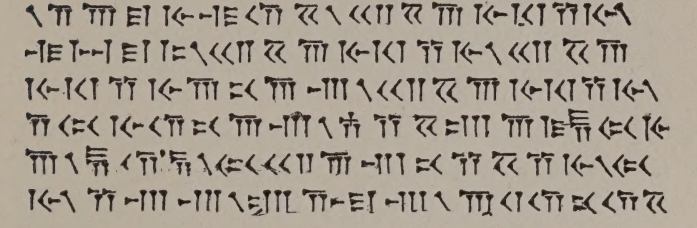
On the subject of Ancient Persian linguistics, much of interest might be written. For the purpose in view here, however, it will suffice to give only a general outline, and for fuller discussion refer to the large number of contributions made to comparative philology on the present subject as indicated above in the discussion of the sources.

The Ancient Persian language belongs to the Aryan group of the Indo-European family. The chief representatives of this group are: the Indian—*i. e.*, the Vedic Dialect and the classical Sanskrit—and the Iranian;—*i.e.*, the Ancient Persian (West Iranian) and the Avestan, sometimes called Zend (East Iranian).

The Ancient Persian writing was of the cuneiform type, very simple, having of all known cuneiform script the fewest signs and the simplest combinations of elements. There are thirty-six signs of syllabic value and a few frequently occurring ideograms, the signs for king, earth, country, and Auramazda. The stroke of the wedge is always downward or to the right. The reading likewise is from left to right.[1]

[1]Cf. Weissbach, Keilinschr. der Achæm., Einleitung.

The following is a specimen of Persian writing:



Transliterated: Dārayavauš xšāyathiya vazarka xšāyathiya xšāyathiyānām xšāyathiya dahyūnām Vištāspahyā puthra Haxāmanišiya hya imam tacaram akunauš. Translated: Darius, great king, king of kings, king of countries, son of Hystaspes the Achæmenidan, who built this palace."

The ancient Persian script, although similar to other cuneiform writings, presents a distinct class by itself. Various scholars have attempted to show that it was based upon previously existing cuneiform script, only modified to such an extent as to become adaptable to the Persian language; but such efforts have been futile. Weissbach regards the Persian writing as in all probability devised and introduced by Darius, basing his opinion on Beh. IV, 20, a mutilated passage which he interprets thus: "Nach dem Willen Auramazdas schuf ich Inschriften in anderer Weise, auf arisch, was vormals nicht war." This interpretation involves, of course, the question of the authorship of the Murghab inscription,[1] which he does not ascribe to Cyrus I. Weissbach (Keilinschr.

[1]Cf. Weissbach, Keilinschr. der Achæm., Einleitung; also Sect. on Sources.

der Achæm, Einleitung) summarizes his argument as follows:

1. The only two known inscriptions of Cyrus the Great, which can be ascribed to him with certainty, are simply in Babylonian, not also in Ancient Persian and Elamite.

2 The short inscription of Murghab would be the only trilingual inscription which we have from the time before Darius, if it came from Cyrus the Great.

3. It is not on a grave, neither that of the "Mother of Solomon," nor on "the Prison of Solomon" (which Herzfeld in agreement with me considers a monument), but on a palace. It seems likely to me that Darius says of himself that he was the first to make inscriptions in Aryan script and language.

Unless, therefore, more convincing evidence to the contrary is presented, the view of Weissbach must be preferred.

1. *Inscriptions of Behistan*[1]

The most imposing inscriptions, perhaps of the whole world, are found on the rock Behistan, a peak of the mountain range bounding the plain of Kermanshah. The first one to copy and publish these inscriptions was Sir Henry Rawlinson, a British military officer. Being stationed at Kermanshah, about twenty miles distant from the rock of Behistan, he made use of the splendid opportunity offered him and at the risk of his life began the work, the final success of which

[1]Cuneiform Text, King and Thompson, Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistan, 1–71. Tolman Cuneiform Supplement, 1–47.

made his name famous. Reëxaminations of the rock have since been made by A. V. W. Jackson and by L. W. King and R. C. Thompson.[1] The rock rises about fifteen hundred feet above the plain, and on its vertical surface is a sculptured panel. The bas-reliefs carved on this panel present a group of figures of whom Darius may easily be distinguished on account of his majestic bearing. In his left hand he holds the bow and his right hand is raised. Standing before him and bound, with the hands tied behind the back are nine prisoners. Generally above the head of each figure, in one case on the garment, is the name of the rebel and also the nature of the revolt and its place, together with the statement that in making his claim to the throne he lied, except in the case of the ninth, which bears the simple inscription: "This (is) Sku-(n)kha, the Scythian." Prostrate at the feet of the king lies a tenth captive with hands stretched up, as he is trampled upon by the king; it is Gaumâta, the Magian.[2] Behind the king is his quiver-bearer and behind this attendant the king's spear-bearer. Above the head of the king there is floating the winged figure of his god Auramazda, holding a ring in his left hand, the symbol of sovereignty, and with his right hand he beckons to the king.

The Persian version is directly under the sculptured group. The Elamite translation appears on the lower left-hand side, and the Babylonian projects over this. It is interesting to note that the earliest reference to Behistan is a passage in Diodorus Siculus which relates that Semiramis visited Behistan,

[1]Cf. Sect.on Sources.
[2]Beh. IV, 2.

made a park on the place where she encamped, and made the inscription on the mountain: "When Semiramis had brought to an end the works upon which she was engaged, she set out for Media with a large military force and, halting near the mountain called Bagistan, pitched her camp near it. She made a park, which was twelve furlongs in circumference and which, situated in a plain, had a great fountain that watered all the cultivated area round about. The mountain Bagistan is sacred to Zeus, and on the side toward the park it has steep rocks extending upward to the height of seventeen furlongs. On the lower part of this she caused her own image to be carved, with a hundred lance-bearers standing round about her. She inscribed likewise in Syrian characters on the rock, that Semiramis had ascended from the plain to the top of the height by laying, one upon another, the packs of the beasts of burden that followed her."[1] The passage undoubtedly alludes to this rock Behistan,[2] Diodorus following an erroneous tradition that this was an inscription of Semiramis.

2. *Inscriptions of Persepolis*[3]

Ranking next to the Inscriptions of Behistan are the records of Persepolis. Here were the palace of Darius, the pillared hall of Xerxes, and the magnificent palace of Artaxerxes bearing witness to Persian power. The ruins of this ancient city are found about a day's journey northeast of Shiraz. The original plan of construction here was due to Darius, who

[1]Diod. II, 13.

[2]Cf. A. V. W. Jackson, Persia Past and Present, 188 fg.

[3]Cuneiform Text. Stolze, Persepolis (Photographs); Tolman, Cuneiform Supplement, 47–56.

erected a palace corresponding to the splendor and wealth of the empire under his reign.

Darius Pers. a consists of six lines above the figure of the king in an inner room of the palace.

Darius Pers. b consists of one line only, engraved on the dress of the king.

Darius Pers. c consists of one line which occurs eighteen times on the cornices of the windows in the room mentioned above.

Darius Pers. d consists of twenty-four lines in ancient Persian only, written on the south wall of the platform.

Darius Pers. e occurs on the right of Darius Pers. d.

Elaborating the plans of his father, Xerxes made considerable additions to the work of Darius. A grand staircase, consisting of a double ramping flight with more than a hundred steps, led into the palace from the south. Xerxes also erected a large number of splendid portals, the ruins of which still spread about in disordered groups. His stately halls, with their majestic columns, must have presented an imposing sight, and their ruins even to this day give evidence of their former splendor.

Twenty lines, Xerxes Persepolis a, repeated four times, are written over the winged bulls of the doorway of the palace.

Xer. Pers. b consists of thirty lines in Ancient Persian only on the walls of the staircase at the north side of the Column Hall.

Xer. Pers. ca occurs in fifteen lines on the doorposts at the southwest corner of the palace of Darius.

Xer. Pers. cb consists of twenty-five lines on the south wall of the terrace.

Xer. Pers. da consists of nineteen lines on pillars of the north side of the palace of Xerxes.

Xer. Pers. db occurs in twenty-eight lines on the outer side of the staircase at the north side.

Xer. Pers. ea and eb are four lines over the carved figure of the king.

Artaxerxes I left the following inscriptions: Art. Pers. a three times repeated on the north terrace wall of the palace of Artaxerxes and Art. b consisting of thirty-five lines found on the steps at the west side of the palace of Darius.

3. *Inscriptions of Nakš-i-Rustam*[1]

About ten miles north of Persepolis is a steep rocky cliff; on the south side in the bosom of the rock are hewn four tombs, all of like size and uniform in design. The shape of each is roughly that of a Greek cross, the arms being hewn deep into the rock. Two pillars stand on each side of the portals. The lower part, which is smoothed and without any design, served as a foundation upon which the whole seems to rest. The upper part of the cross contains a bas-relief, representing two rows of the vassal nations supporting a platform. The tomb of Darius is the only one marked by inscriptions. The king is sculptured in the same manner as on the Behistan rock, except that his position is now before the sacred fire, over which hovers the winged figure of Auramazda, with the sun,

[1]Cuneiform Text. Weissbach, Die Keilinschriften am Grabe des Darius, with photographs. Tolman, Cuneiform Supplement, 56–61.

the emblem of light, in the background. The king appears as walking forth toward the right. On each edge of the niche and on each of the side walls are found three attendants. Below the two rows of the vassals are found two men, each supporting a leg of the throne. The other three tombs have been assigned to Xerxes I, Artaxerxes I, and Darius II. Access to the tombs is exceedingly difficult, since the entrance is high above the ground, made possible only by the aid of ropes and ladders. The sarcophagi are all empty. As to who occupied the tombs, with the exception of that of Darius, there can at best be only conjecture. Below the tombs there is carved a series of seven reliefs, which are from the time of the Sassanians. The natives have seen in them representations of their national hero Rustam, after whom the cliff has been named Nakš-i-Rustam.[1] The inscriptions at Nakš-i-Rustam are:

NR.a, written in sixty lines at the left of the figure of the king:

NR.b consists of sixty lines and is found underneath the figures below the pillars at the entrance passage.

NR.c is written in two lines over the figure of the spear-bearer at the left side of the king.

NR.d consists of two lines under the figure of the spear-bearer.

NR.e is a one line lettering over one of the figures supporting the throne. Several other inscriptions over the heads of throne supporters have more recently been made out by Babin and Houssay and translated by Weissbach.[2]

[1]For further details cf. Jackson, Persia Past and Present, 295 fg. [2]Weissbach, Keilinschr. der Achæm., 97, 98.

4. *Inscriptions of Susa*[1]

On the eastern banks of the Choaspes river in Susiana was located Susa, one of the capitals of the Persian empire. It was here that the kings had erected a magnificent palace. From its former splendor nothing has been left except the ruins scattered over a vast area and only a few short inscriptions commemorate the greatness of the builders.[2]

Dar. Sus. a is made up of five lines written on a tablet.

Dar. Sus. b consists of eleven lines also written on a tablet.

Xer. Sus., consisting of two lines, is written in three languages on a column base.

Art. Sus. a is a five line inscription on the pedestals of four columns.

Art. Sus. b is a one line lettering, now in the Louvre.

Art. Sus. c is a seven line inscription and in Ancient Persian only, on a stone plate, now also in the Louvre.

5. *Inscriptions of Suez*[3]

Inscriptions on a rounded stele commemorating the completion of the Suez Canal have been found near Shalûf et-Terrâbeh. Doubtless the archæological labors in this neighborhood of the canal will in the future bring to light still other ancient records.[4]

The inscriptions on the flat surface of the stele, on

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[1]Tolman, Cuneiform Supplement, 61–63.

[2]Perrot et Chipiez, L'Histoire De L'Art dans Antiquité. Dieulafoy, L'Acropole De Suse.

[3]Cuneiform Text, Tolman, Cuneiform Supplement, 64, 65.

[4]Weissbach, Keilinschr. der. Achæm., Einleitung.

which there is a winged disc with two men holding a tablet, are as follows:

Sz. a, a single word, Darius, in Ancient Persian only.

Sz. b, a seven line inscription at the right of the figures, in Elamite and Babylonian.

Sz. c, occupying the lower part with a twelve line inscription.

6. *Inscription of Kerman*[1]

This is an inscription of nine lines found at Maghan, a village near Kerman, and written on a pyramid of black stone.

7. *Inscription of Elvend*[1]

Near the city of Hamadan is Mount Elvend, where Darius and his son Xerxes carved inscriptions in two niches on the face of a rock. The niche of Darius is to the left and slightly higher than that of Xerxes. The records consist of twenty lines each and are of the same content.

8. *Inscription of Van*[1]

This record consists of twenty-seven lines, carved in a rectangular niche sixty feet high, on the rock of the citadel of Van.

9. *Inscription of Hamadan*[1]

A seven line record was left here by Artaxerxes II written on moldings of pedestals, now in the British Museum. Jackson believes that Hamadan is the ancient Ecbatana.[2] If this assumption is correct, it was at modern Hamadan that the decree was given by Cyrus for the rebuilding of the Jewish temple;[3]

[1]Cuneiform Text, Tolman, Cuneiform Supplement, 65-69.
[2]A. V. W. Jackson, Persia Past and Present, p. 150 fg.
[3]Ezra v. 17; vi. 1–3.

here Cyrus found rich spoils after the capture of the city,[1] and here Darius imprisoned and put to death Fravarti.[2] At this place also stood the palace of the Median kings,[3] and here later Alexander celebrated the glories of his campaign in eastern Iran and India.[4] On account of the cool climate the city was well adapted for a summer residence of the Persian kings,[5] Susa being suited only for a winter residence.

10. *Inscription of Murghab*[6]

Here, on a huge broken monolith, was a short inscription of two lines, "I (am) Cyrus the king, the Achæmenidan," written above the relief of a winged figure, and repeated on other pillars. The question whether these ruins represent the tomb of Cyrus the Great has been mentioned above.[7]

11. *Seal, Vase, and Weight Inscriptions*

Darius Seal. This is found on a small cylinder, now in the British Museum. Other seal, vase, and weight inscriptions found at different places and now in possession of different owners, have but little historic value.

The inscriptions mentioned above may be found

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[1]Ann. Nab. col. II, (Obv.), 3–4.

[2]Beh. II, 13.

[3]Hdt. III, 99.

[4]A. V. W. Jackson, Persia Past and Present, 163 fg.

[5]Xen. Anab. III, 5, 15.

[6]Cuneiform Text, Tolman, Cuneiform Supplement, 69.

[7]A. V. W. Jackson, Persia Past and Present, 280, 283; Weissbach, Keilinschr. der Achæm., Einleitung. Cf. Dieulafoy, l'Art Antique de la Perse. Perrot et Chipiez, Histoire de l'Art dans Antiquité.

chiefly in C. Kossowicz, Inscriptiones Palæo-Persicæ; Fr. Spiegel, Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften; L. W. King and R. C. Thompson, The Sculptures and Inscriptions of Darius the Great on the Rock of Behistan in Persia; H. C. Tolman, Ancient Persian Lexicon and Texts; H. C. Tolman, Cuneiform Supplement; Weissbach, Die Keilinschriften der Achæmeniden; Arthur Hoffmann-Kutschke, Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften des Grosskoenigs Dārajawausch des Ersten. For further references see works of other scholars mentioned in section on Sources. Compare also Stolze, Persepolis; Perrot et Chipiez, L'Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité; Dieulafoy, L'Art antique de la Perse.

XVII

Conclusion

With the passing of the last monarch, Persia sank back into the obscurity from which Cyrus the Great had raised her. Not much of her previous glory and treasure now remains, with the exception of a few stately tombs, ruins of magnificent palaces, sacred altars, and columns scattered here and there over the vast regions of her former dominions. Though later exhausted by perpetual internal strife, coupled with external wars, in her youthful days the empire proved a power of progress in oriental civilization. The collapse would have come sooner than it did but for the continuous discord among the Greeks, who on more than one occasion threatened the very existence of the heterogeneous Persian state. Had they been but properly unified the Asiatic empire would have been prostrated at their feet. As it was, it remained for the great son of Philip of Macedon to strike the death blow. Whatever may be the changing lot of Persia and of the countries once under her powerful sway, the inscriptions engraved on eternal rocks and lasting monuments will remain, keeping their silent vigil over a much treasured past. However tradition may have obscured her history in a veil of legend and myth, these records of the Achæmenidans will continue unchanging and invaluable documents on the life and government of this once powerful nation.

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